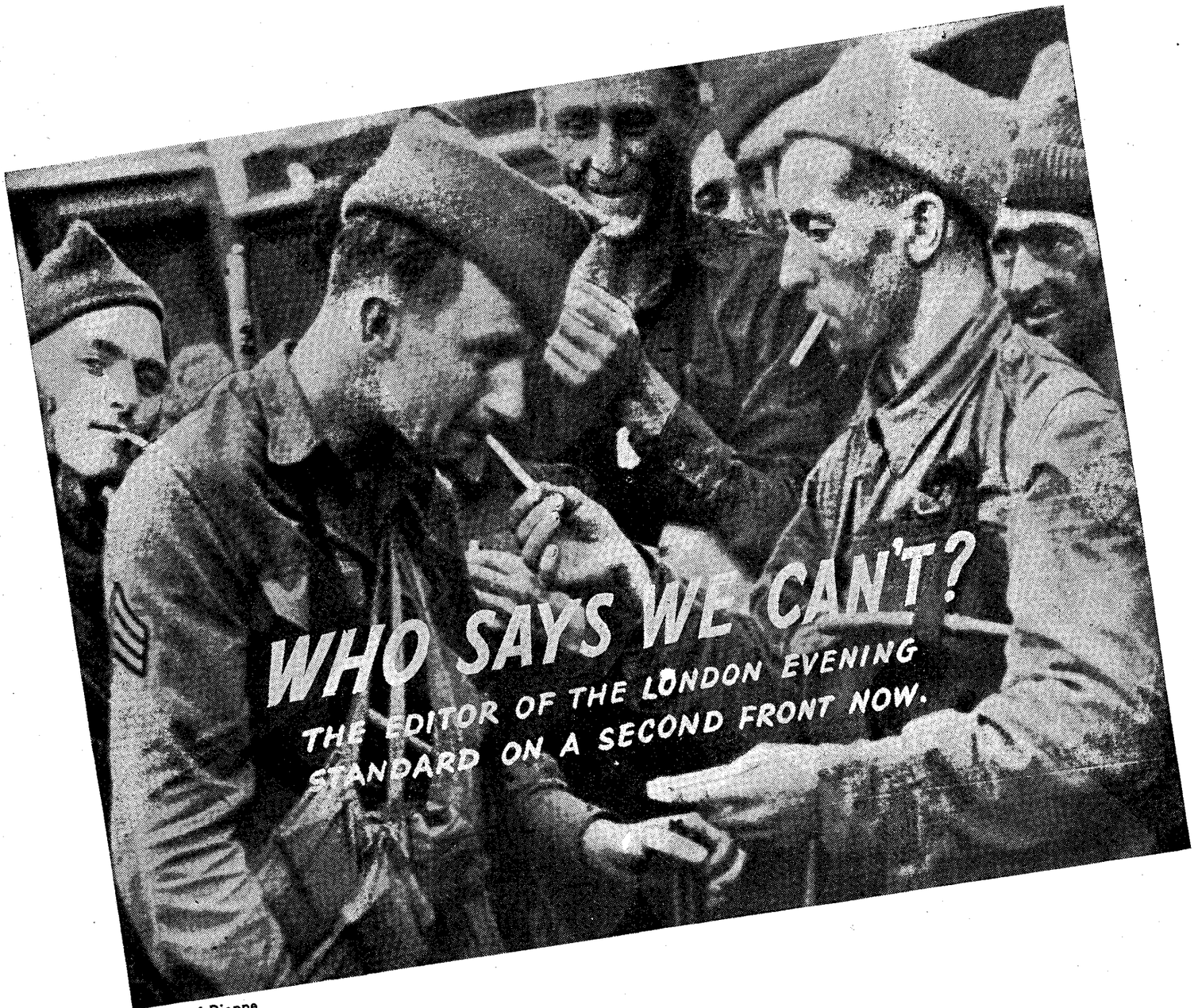
The Debunking of de Seversky

by Tacticus

NEW MASSES

September 1, 1942 15c in Canada 20c



Heroes of Dieppe

In This Issue: *Dieppe Proved It, by Colonel T. and Claude Cockburn; Sir Stafford Cripps on India; The Hunt for Manpower, by Bruce Minton; What Made Shostakovich, by Nicolas Slonimsky; Coudert—Vichy Lawyer, by Barbara Giles.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETWEEN OURSELVES

WE WEREN'T surprised when people began to tell us how glad they were to find a cable from R. Palme Dutt on "What India Means to Us," in last week's NM. As soon as the India crisis arose, every other person asked us, "Why don't you get a cable from Dutt?" We said, "We *will* get a cable from Dutt," and added less firmly "if we can"—thinking of the lines probably forming before Dutt's door, lines of people wanting a statement, an opinion, a confab, an article, a speech from R. Palme Dutt on the India crisis. For if he has a high reputation on this side of the Atlantic as a foremost authority on India, you can imagine what it must be in England. However, we cabled our humble request to Dutt and in twenty-four hours had a "yes" from him. But then, we weren't exactly astonished. For Dutt, who had studied and written so much about the people of India, their history, their political struggles, their aspirations—would hardly have turned down the opportunity to analyze the crisis so that American readers could get a clear picture of the factors involved, could understand what their own course of action should be. We've had ever so many letters of appreciation from throughout the country and several from Canada for the cable of last week—and every one of them is a tribute to the man who wrote it.

In a sense, however that cable was really the first of two articles by Dutt on India. For we plan to run in an early issue a chapter from his new book, not yet published in America, and that chapter deals with "India and the Colonial Peoples." (The book itself is titled *Britain in the World Front.*) We don't know when the volume was written, but it sounds as fresh to us as this morning's paper.

And speaking of English writers, that fine call for the second front by Michael Foot, on page 3 of this issue, is reprinted from the London *Evening Standard,* of which Mr. Foot is editor. We in the office read it and decided it was too good to keep from NM readers.

WE HAD Readers Forum page all prettily set in type and illustrated for this issue when space problems came up in the baffling sequence known as "just one thing after another," and finally we were left with no choice but to omit the page altogether. It hurts us to have to skip that Forum—when people have things to say and want to say them to other NM readers, well, we just think they should be said. Certainly if other people enjoy reading them as much as we do, they should have that privilege. However, there was no alternative except to omit a whole article which would have probably become untimely in another week. There are a few briefer letters, though, for which we can find space in these columns. One, for example, from playwright-contributor John Howard Lawson, who writes:

"May I offer belated congratulations on the exciting and important article by Joy Davidman in New Masses, July 21: 'Women: Hollywood Version.' Miss Davidman has done a first-rate job in analyzing the perverse tradition which has grown up in the motion picture, and which results in turning women into sex automatons with baby faces and sentimentalized emotions. I believe, and hope, that the impact of the war is changing the attitude of the motion picture: there is the beginning of a deeper and healthier attitude toward people, toward the portrayal of human beings in their human flesh-and-blood quality. If we are to show the role of people in a people's war, we must show them whole and strong and capable of sacrifice and purpose. Miss Davidman's article is a fine contribution to a better understanding of the problem."

AND ONE of our readers sends us a marked copy of the Detroit *Tribune,* Negro weekly newspaper, which reprints on the editorial page the poem which Countee Cullen sent us in response to our request for a statement on the second front (published in our August 11 issue). As a matter of fact, we had seen that copy of the Detroit *Tribune,* which comes to our library, but we were also pleased by the note which our correspondent sent along with the marked copy. "I want you to know," he wrote, "how I feel about the second front, too. I can't say it through poetry, though I would be inspired to if I were a poet. I can only say, in plain words—but I mean every syllable—that the way to lick Hitler, Hirohito, Mussolini, the whole kit and caboodle of them, is to kick them in the pants. And the way to kick them in the pants is to kick Adolf from behind, through an invasion of the European continent. There's no 'arm chair strategy' in that; it's just ordinary sense—the sort of ordinary sense that belongs to millions of ordinary Americans like me."

CORRECTION: We announced on this page, in our August 4, issue, that the IWO Lodge in Jacksonville, Fla., had sent the magazine fifty-six dollars recently. The sum on checking back was really seventy-one fifty. Our apologies for the error—and our warm thanks again for the swell contribution.

Who's Who

MICHAEL FOOT is the editor of the London *Evening Standard* . . . Tacticus is the pen name of an expert on aviation. . . . James Roland is an economist working in the insurance field. . . . Samuel Putnam is the author of several books and an outstanding authority on Latin-American affairs. . . . Nicolas Slonimsky is a conductor, composer, and music critic. He is the author of the *Encyclopedic Survey of Music Since 1900.*

THIS WEEK

NEW MASSES, VOL. XLIV, NO. 9

September 1, 1942

Who Says We Can't? *by Michael Foot* 3
London Since Dieppe *by Claude Cockburn* 4
Soviet Cartoons 5
Dieppe Proved It *by Col. T.* 6
The Debunking of de Seversky *by Tacticus* 8
Sir Stafford Gives the Answer *by Sir Stafford Cripps* . 11
Battle for New York *An editorial* 12
Coudert—Vichy Lawyer *by Barbara Giles* 13
The Hunt for Manpower *by Bruce Minton* 16
Money in the Bank *by James Roland* 18
The Teachers Meet *An editorial* 19
Editorial Comment 20

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Wanderer in the Wilderness *by Samuel Sillen* 22
Brazil's Sixteen Million *by Samuel Putnam* 23
Brief Review 25

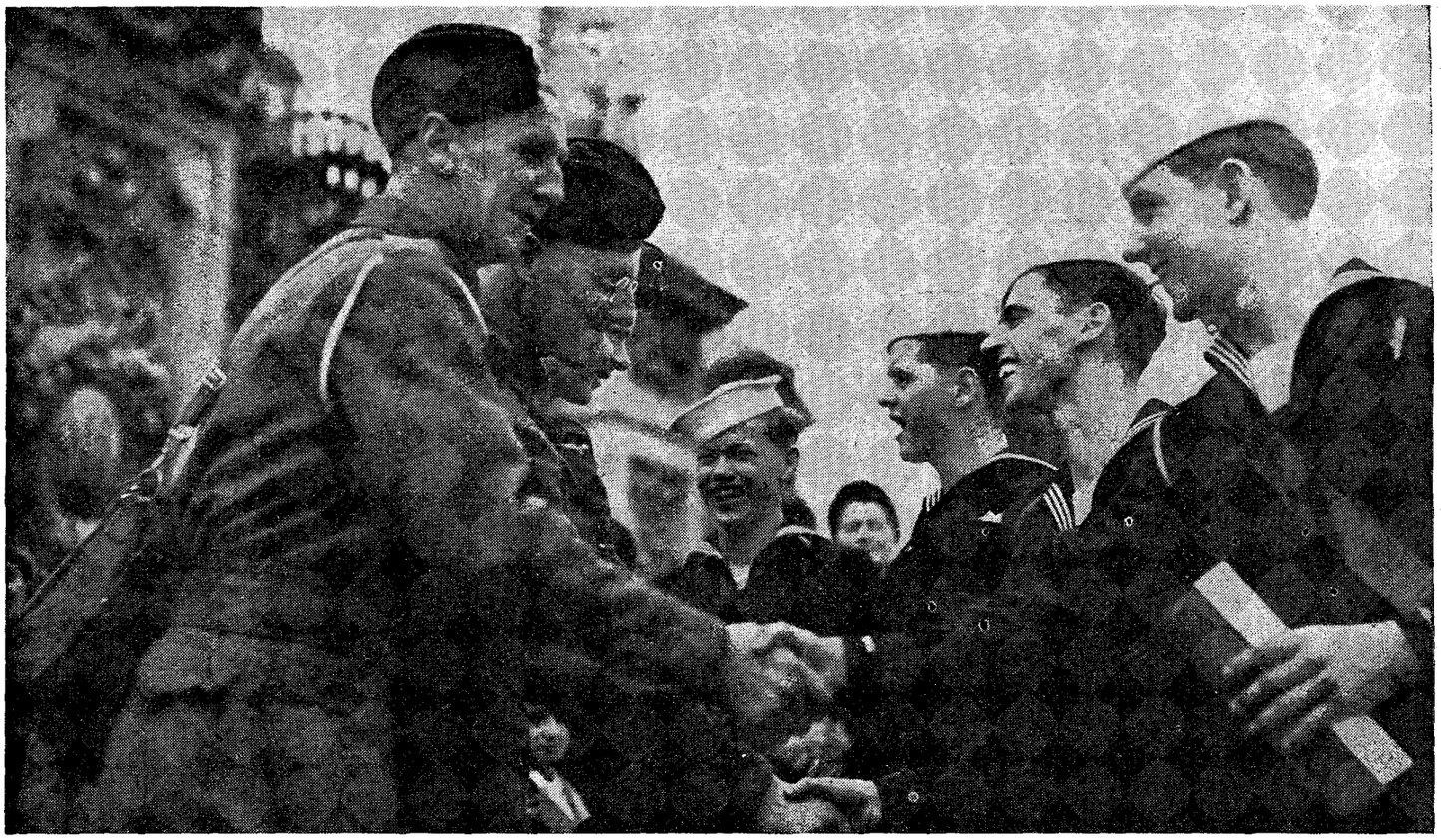
SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Shostakovich's Colleagues *by Nicolas Slonimsky* . . . 26
Mixed Feelings *by Alvah Bessie* 28
That Man Again *by Dorothy Saintsbury* 31

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 461 Fourth Ave., New York City. Copyright 1942, WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.75; three months $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada, $5.50 a year, $3.00 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



HANDSHAKES ON THE SECOND FRONT. Sailors from among the large contingents of Yanks meeting their Canadian and British allies in London.

WHO SAYS WE CAN'T?

Michael Foot, editor of the London "Evening Standard," says the British and American peoples "have sworn their oath" for the second front. We have "the men, the will, the ships."

SOMEWHERE on the sweeping plains between two Russian rivers the fate of this planet is being decided. Beneath sun and thundercloud great armies clash by day and night. The largest mechanized forces ever placed on the fields of battle are in deadly combat. The stakes involved are proportionate to the numbers of men and the mass of metal. Our deepest fear is that the Russian armies should be destroyed; that they should be encircled, trapped, or minced to pieces by superior steel. No wild imagining is needed to assess the results of such a disaster. If the Russian armies of the south were scattered, the Russian armies of the north would be sapped of their strength. The Caucasus and the oil would lie open. Hitler would stand a conqueror greater than Napoleon.

He could return westward with countless legions, unnumbered machines, and the priceless boon of immunity in the east. He could devote all his energies to settling his account with Great Britain. He would have riches to gamble and weapons to squander. This conclusion we dare not in our senses contemplate. Our dearest hope is that somewhere between those rivers the Russian armies should stand and fight the most decisive battle of the world. Another Smolensk; a second Rostov; that the spirit of Sevastopol should be reborn in Stalingrad; such are our hopes. They are just. Already Voronezh has matched the memory of Minsk and Kiev and Kharkov. Novorossisk will outdo Odessa, if necessity should demand. Timoshenko's armies are still intact. A pile of German dead strews the banks of the Don and the land of the Cossacks breeds the toughest-loined guerrillas. It is proper to hope. But we dare not put our faith in hope alone.

No escape from the facts is permitted. They stare us in the face. And the British people ask: Must we stand aside as spectators at Armageddon, like race-goers at the course who have placed their bets and can do no more but applaud and shout to affect the outcome? It is an unfair question. British and Imperial soldiers fight for Suez, guard Syria, Iraq, Persia, Australia, and India. British sailors wage ceaseless war in the Arctic, the Atlantic, and every other ocean. British airmen are granted no rest; they give their lives night and day. Together the fighting men of Britain held the pass for freedom and made the Grand Alliance possible. Yet there is one ounce of truth in the anxious, eager questioning of the British people. Not all these exertions are sufficient to dictate the plot in the great eastern battle. Nothing less than our total effort at the hour of Russia's total effort will do it. Can we do it? Dare we do it? There is no other issue of equal dimension in the whole range of world politics. We are pledged by honor and interest and word and bond. The Russian people call for aid and the British and American peoples, through the undertakings of their leaders, have sworn their oath. The whole energy of this nation should now be devoted to making our promise good. Yet in some quarters whispers are spread abroad. These doubters are traitors.

HAVE we the men? We have more than the number who saved Moscow last autumn, more perhaps than the number whom Timoshenko commands as the barrier to the Caucasus, countless more than the number on whom Auchinleck calls to save Suez and the East. We have all these and their American comrades in arms. They are waiting and training. They cannot wait forever. They must fight or lose their spirit. What would Timoshenko give for such reserves?

Have we the machines? We have Matildas and Valentines, and Timoshenko fights with them. We have two-pounders to equal the German 37 mm. We have six-pounders to surpass their 50 mm. We have 3.7's to beat the 88 mm. We have new tanks designed for the close country of Flanders and France. We have bombers to blast the enemy railheads and fighters to sweep their Luftwaffe from the skies. We have mastery in the air. How would Timoshenko counterattack with such machines?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Have we the ships? Aye, there's the rub. Well, we had ships to take 950,000 men to the Middle East, ships to capture Madagascar, ships to take huge convoys to India, ships for transporting supplies to Russia, ships to save an army from Dunkirk, ships to keep this nation the best fed in Europe. Ships do not lie idle. They must be employed according to a rigid rule of priority. Suppose the second front became number one priority. Perhaps then the greatest seafaring nation the world has ever seen would be able to find the ships.

Have we the will? That is the real question. Have we the nerve and muscle to screw our courage to the sticking place, to hurl ourselves across the Channel, to break down the coastal defenses, to burst into Europe, to rouse our friends, to stir chaos and defiance in every city and town of that stricken continent, to make every German in every tortured hamlet walk in fear of his life, to suffer, to sacrifice, and above all to dare? It would be a bloody, frightful business. "No more Dunkirks" is the cry, and it sounds plausible. But suppose the Russians worked on this maxim. No more Kievs; no more Kharkovs; no more Odessas; no more Sevastopols. . . . Is this the doctrine of victory or are these epics reserved for Russians?

Dunkirk is not an ignoble name. It shook Britain from her sloth and raised her to the peak of her greatness. It made every man ready to give all for his country. It put property and wealth and life itself at the service of the Commowealth. It made unnumbered heroes from common men. It saved 250,000 soldiers from certain death. It made British sailors the proudest in all the world. It made this people one. It was the modern miracle. And after Armada, Marston Moor, Blenheim, Quebec, and the Marne, this nation should believe in miracles.

THE liberties we cherish and the battles which have won them for us were not secured by armies which marched to certain victory. Great issues are more nearly balanced. Against odds, in the teeth of power, by audacity and the seizure of sudden chance, the glories of free men have been established. There is no other way. And if we are only to plan and prepare and calculate while Russia dares and Russia bleeds, we shall not deserve to retain the rank of a great nation.

It was thus on one July 14 at the start of this age of freedom. With daylight one idea dawned upon Paris, and all were illumined with the same ray of hope. A light broke upon every mind and the same voice thrilled through every heart: "Go! And thou shalt take the Bastille!" That was impossible, unreasonable, preposterous. And yet everybody believed. And the thing was done.

This is our situation, but in terms of rhetoric. Perhaps a colder exhortation may be preferred. These are the words of Clausewitz, the first among military theorists: "Naturally in war we always seek to have the probability of success on our side, whether it be that we count upon a physical or moral superiority. But this is not always possible; we must often undertake things when the probability of our succeeding is against us, if, for instance, we can do nothing better. If in such a case we despair, then our rational reflection and judgment leave us when most wanted. Therefore, even when the probability of success is against us, we must not on that account consider our undertaking as impossible or unreasonable; reasonable it will always be if we can do nothing better, and if we employ the few means we have to the best of our advantage."

This is our situation, except that our means are not few. Our allies fight the great battle of the war. We can do nothing better to aid them. There is no despair in England now. And there should be neither doubts nor whispers. If the British people are still truly great, no mood should exist in this land but the resolve to start the adventure now. To batter down the prison gates, to summon the hosts of freedom to our side, and to ensure that if the battle of the Russian rivers be won we can count ourselves among the victors, just as surely if the battle be lost we shall have to count ourselves among the vanquished.

LONDON SINCE DIEPPE *by Claude Cockburn*

London (by cable).

PUBLIC reaction here to Dieppe was varied but there was agreement on at least one thing: that it is a shattering blow to the do-nothing school of military experts who still dare to claim that an invasion of the continent is impossible. Only a couple of weeks before Dieppe certain of these experts once again raised their heads for the purpose of demonstrating the total impracticability of holding a bridgehead long enough to enable adequate forces to land. It is notable that several of these theorists were grouped in an unofficial organization calling itself the Military Strategy Group and were actively trying to persuade the public that they were influential in the War Office. As recently as August 9 Colonel Garsia was arguing against opening a second front at least until enormously greater resources had been assembled in Britain. There doesn't seem to be a single point in his article that wasn't disproved by Dieppe.

This, at any rate, is the all-important public feeling about the matter. It is noticeable that many of those who hitherto were inclined to be overwhelmed by suggestions of weighty, secret military difficulties, now understand the real situation. It can be said that nobody here has fallen for the German propaganda suggesting that Dieppe was merely a stunt enacted for the sake of "doing something" after Churchill's visit to Moscow. Obviously it was a most serious effort to probe possibilities, gain experience. Equally, however, it must be said the success of the raid sharply increased public impatience with any delay in rapidly passing from this stage into the next one of full scale attack. There is a further aspect to this question which will likely become increasingly important. The public, having satisfied itself that the military difficulties are superable, is bound to come to the conclusion that endless delay in opening the second front must be based on other than military reasons.

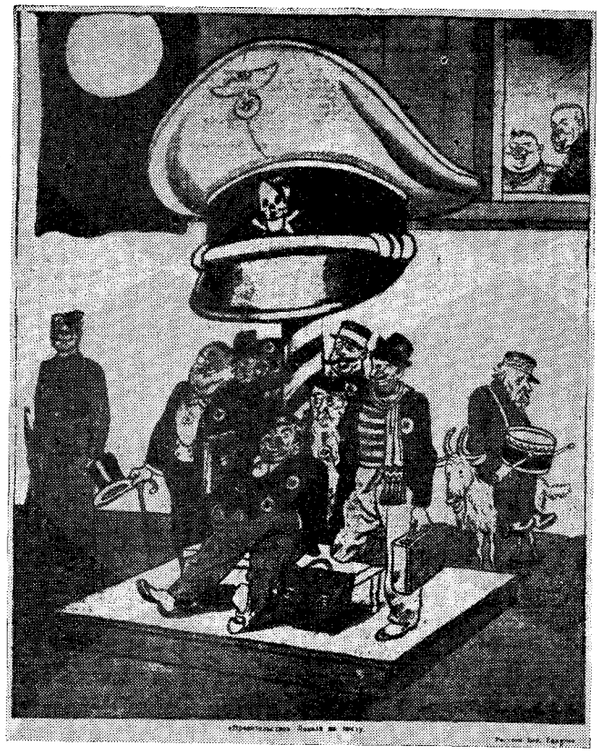
This impression was naturally connected with the general attempt to figure out the possible results of Churchill's Moscow visit. The man in the street reacted to the visit with enthusiasm tempered by skepticism resulting from the dashing of hopes which had been roused by the famous communique of early June—which the majority of the population had assumed was an admission of the obligation to open the second front. This time the public is considerably warier. They were glad that Churchill finally was sufficiently aware of the situation to visit Stalin. They believe, rightly, that this represents a most serious setback for Nazi diplomacy. They welcome this victory.

On the other hand, it is realized that, despite the long period of the war, Allied coordination of strategy is still in the infantile stage. There were premature rumors here, which had a certain effect, suggesting that over and above other topics discussed in Moscow, there had been a desire on Churchill's part to reach some formula which could be considered a retreat from the position announced in the June communique. Clearly, if the June communique had been mere bluff—which is inconceivable—then Nemesis would by now be overtaking those who had made so scandalous an attempt to deceive the people about an exceedingly serious situation. Therefore it was suggested by ill-intentioned persons that perhaps Churchill had proceeded to Moscow in order in some way to mitigate the effects. Such a visit would in any case have been a sign that those elements here who disapproved the Churchill broadcast of June 22, last year, who sought to prevent the signing of the Anglo-Soviet treaty in June of this year, have once again received a serious rebuff. That is more or less clearly understood by everyone who bothers to think.

AT THE same time it is felt here that in view of what has passed, it is now more than ever clear that this beginning of a real inter-Allied strategy must be backed and supported to the full by the combined strength of the peoples of Britain and America. The military and political questions are inseparably linked. The people have the responsibility to make possible—indeed, to make certain—that the military decision and the military coordination are carried out. That is why during the next days British popular demand for a second front will express itself with unsurpassed vigor for the purpose of translating the principles of the Moscow conference decisions into decisive mass action.

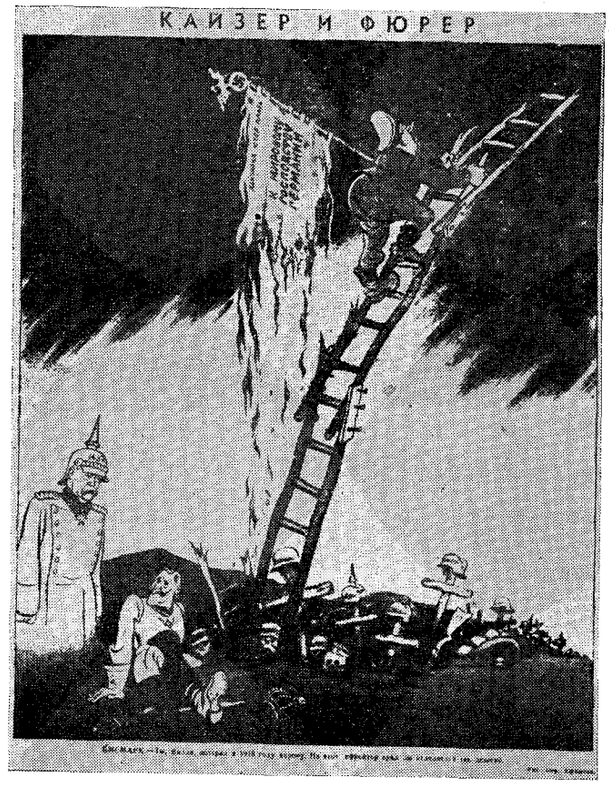
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CARTOONS FROM THE SOVIET PRESS



VICHY

The government of Laval at its post



THE KAISER AND THE FUEHRER

Bismarck: "You, Willy, lost your crown in 1918, but you, corporal, will not get off so cheaply."

PLEASURE HOUSE "NEW EUROPE"

The three belles (Hungary, Rumania, Finland): "I don't know which of you the fuehrer likes best, but he robs all of you alike."

HITLER'S REAR

Hitler: "How pleasant it is, my dear Himmler, to see the happy faces of the German people."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DIEPPE PROVED IT

It was a grand test of the possibility of opening a second front. Allied troops are ready, coordination is well perfected, air supremacy is certain. A reply to Drew Pearson.

On Wednesday, August 19, an event of great potential military importance occurred in and around Dieppe, France. A combined Allied force struck across the sea, on land, and from the air at the German "invasion coast." The operation was described as:

(1) A miscarried attempt to open a second front (Goebbels' radio);

(2) A diversion preparatory to the opening of a second front (second front super-optimists);

(3) Just a big Commando raid (sceptics and pooh-poohers);

(4) A test of Allied men, materiel, coordination; a test of German defenses; a challenge to the German air force; a shot in the arm to the people of Europe. In short, whether intended so or not, *a grand test of the possibility of opening a second front in Europe now (this is the view held by this writer, among others).*

The test was doubtlessly a brilliant success. The fate of several generations depends upon the ability of those whose task and duty is the appraisal of the Dieppe operation to see in their true light the possibilities it disclosed and to appraise it correctly. I do not know what some of these military, naval, and political men think. To a certain extent, however, we get an idea of some of their thoughts from certain news hangers-on who have their ears at the keyholes of the great and mighty. This writer listened to the radio broadcast of one of them—Drew Pearson, the well known Washington columnist. What did Pearson say in essence?

(1) He said that there would be no second front this year.

(2) He said that the Dieppe operation proved that the Germans were very much prepared for the attack, that their defenses were formidable, and that the cost of a full scale invasion would be too great.

(3) And, as if to offset these defeatist statements, he added that "while Russian morale was at a low ebb three weeks ago, Winston Churchill's visit to Moscow had raised Russian spirits" by making the Russians feel that they were not fighting alone.

We may add here that if the first two statements are as much bunkum as the last, things are not so black. Because if the appearance of Winston Churchill in the Russian capital —followed by official statements of a general character and *not* followed by military action of any real importance—is sufficient to "raise the spirits" of a people which has lost 3,500,000 men and women in fourteen months, then a few divisions are sufficient indeed to blast the Nazis out of western Europe. (You understand, of course, that both the second and third Pearson statements are nothing but unmitigated rot.) But such are some of the current trends of thought in some places.

On the other hand, what are the facts of the Dieppe affair? We have an official communique and a dozen or so eye-witness accounts. Some conclusions can be already drawn.

First conclusion. It is clear that the raid on Dieppe was *not* a miscarried invasion because it is known that "reembarkation was only six minutes late." *Ergo*—the troops were not supposed to stay. If this raid had actually been the first echelon of a full scale invasion it would have been carried out by at least five or six times the number of troops involved. Neither was it a diversionary operation in conjunction with a main thrust, because no "main thrust" followed. Nor was it simply a Commando raid; it had a huge, full scale air canopy, included a certain number of tanks, and was calculated to develop in broad daylight and excellent visibility. All accounts bear out these facts beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Therefore, the inescapable first conclusion is that it was a test of our means of attack and of German means of defense. It was a full scale challenge to the Luftwaffe to "git up and fight."

Second conclusion. The conditions under which the operation was carried out were by far not the easiest imaginable. The operation took place in daylight. (One account says: "In full daylight the flotilla swept it . . . on my right I could *see* a little French chateau. . . .") Visibility was good (Major-Gen. James Roberts of the Canadian Army, in command, "called for a smoke screen to cover his men on the West beach. . . .") The water-jump from the point in England nearest to Dieppe (Eastbourne) is sixty-four miles, i.e., three times longer than the jump from Dover to Cap Griz-Nez (twenty-one miles). Finally bad luck would have it that one of the Commando convoys ran into a patrol of German E-boats which spread the alarm, so that the invaders were deprived of the benefits of a tactical surprise upon landing. All this shows that, by and large, the test was carried out under difficult conditions and this should serve to emphasize the positive conclusions that follow.

Third conclusion. Naval protection afforded to the convoy of troops was entirely sufficient to protect them with a double "wall" of warships. Such naval protection would have just as efficiently protected a convoy many times greater than the one that streaked across the Channel. In other words, the warships assembled and used would have been able to cope with the protection of a full scale invasion.

Fourth conclusion. The trip across evidently did not take more than three or four hours. (It was still dark when the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

troops on the right blew up the German battery and ammunition dump.) So that, had a full scale invasion been decided upon, the bottoms used in this operation would have been able to make three round trips in twenty-four hours, thus bringing over about three divisions, or *half of what would have been necessary in the first echelon of an invasion.* The third and fourth conclusions thus seem to invalidate the "no ships" cry against a second front. (On the Doren-Calais run same ships would have carried three times as many troops.)

Fifth conclusion. Despite the fact that the Germans were forewarned and "absolutely ready," Allied troops not only landed with tanks, but, after having been repulsed (on the left), reformed and carried their objective, stormed a six-inch Germany battery, destroyed the all-important radio-locator, and penetrated into the city of Dieppe. This shows that a real invasion is possible especially when one considers that the cliffs which frame Dieppe on both sides did not make the job tactically easy. As a matter of fact, Dieppe is considered one of the difficult places for a landing of this sort. From the account of US Ranger Sergeant Stempson we learn: "We landed on the beach and I did not even get my feet wet. Then *we scaled a fifteen-foot cliff. . . .* Having *silenced the pill boxes,* our biggest job was getting back to the beach. . . ."

All this means that the attackers *did* penetrate the Germans' defenses. We learn also that in the center, Allied tanks fought their way into the town of Dieppe. Therefore, the German defenses, even at a key point such as this with its fine harbor, E-boat and submarine nest and radio locator, were not impregnable.

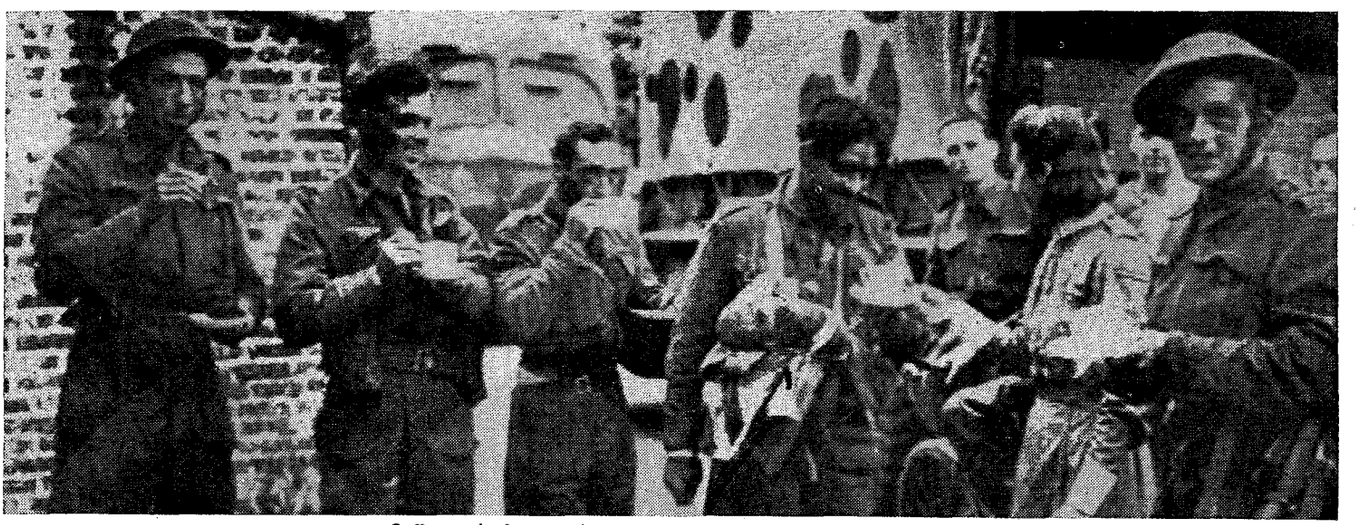
Sixth conclusion. The reembarkation of the troops was carried out in full order and on schedule (six minutes behind schedule, to be exact). Prisoners were brought along. This means that there was no debacle and no flight but a planned withdrawal. At 10:30 AM General Roberts ordered the landing force to withdraw, according to Quentin Reynolds.

Seventh conclusion. The air canopy was full scale (1,000 planes) and gave the expedition uninterrupted protection during the entire nine hours it lasted. Only at one point did German planes break through the canopy to attack the waiting ships. If increased to 2,000 (the figure I named months ago as necessary for the protection of a full scale invasion), it would have been quite sufficient to insure complete success of the opening of a second front in the initial stage of the operation which is the most important. The 3:1 losses (in the attackers' favor) show that the Allies had air supremacy all along. It is interesting to note that on Sept. 15, 1940, the attackers (Germans) lost 185 planes over England against twenty-five British planes, while at Dieppe the attackers (Allies) lost ninety planes to the Germans' 270; i.e. in the first case the ratio was about 1:7 in favor of the defenders and in the second it was 3:1 in favor of the attackers, which shows the Allies at Dieppe had overwhelming air superiority. German losses at Dieppe on Aug. 19, 1942, were proportionately twenty-five times greater than the British losses over England on Sept. 15, 1940.

Eighth conclusion. The coordination of the three main branches of the Allied forces was, by all accounts, well nigh perfect. Part of the convoy going out was delayed only twenty minutes by a naval battle with unexpectedly encountered naval craft. The reembarkation was only six minutes off schedule, after nine hours of sailing and fighting. Quentin Reynolds writes: ". . . The men landing on the middle of the three beaches were being strafed by Focke-Wulf 190's. [General] Roberts barked an order and within half a minute we saw a group of Spitfires veer off and take care of the situation. . . . He [Roberts] called for a smoke screen for his troops. . . . Within a few minutes Douglas Bostons swooped low and soon the beach was covered with a heavy, white screen. . . ."

General conclusion. Allied troops are ready for the opening of a second front. The mechanism of coordination is obviously perfected to a fine point. Ships and planes are available. The grand test was a success. The day after the Dieppe affair the Luftwaffe had *nothing* to oppose the raid of 500 Allied fighters and a foray of Flying Fortresses over Amiens. They flew the whole day of August 20 over France without *losing one single plane,* the Germans *losing one or two planes only.* This shows that the Luftwaffe simply was not there.

Thus the Dieppe test and the general strategic situation as described in the beginning of this article demonstrates that the opening of a second front is not only indispensable, but also *possible.* The military facts, as far as we know them—and the general picture is quite clear—show that *after Dieppe* any arguments against the second front are nothing but a smoke screen for forces that do not want to win the war quickly . . . or at all.



Coffee and—for Allied troops just after their workout at Dieppe.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DEBUNKING OF DE SEVERSKY

Of course, air power is of vast importance in today's warfare. But it cannot do the job alone. Tacticus sees the "all-air" theories as excuses to evade the paramount need for a land invasion of Europe.

For the last half year the best-seller lists have been led consistently by books which claim that our enemies, Germany and Japan, can be crushed by air raids. Other methods of attack are considered not only unnecessary but futile and should be dropped in all except a few battle areas. *Victory Through Air Power,* the most important of these books, is in its fourth hundred thousand. Maj. Alexander P. de Seversky, who wrote it, has become a gilt-edged newspaper, radio, and magazine oracle. Hollywood has taken him up, too; Walt Disney will make a movie of his book. Even a thoroughly incompetent "air theorist" like William B. Ziff (*The Coming Battle of Germany*) is enjoying quite a vogue.

This national mania, which has afflicted even people of proven sound judgment, is a cause for grave concern. Although this is certainly the airplane's day, the doctrine that air power alone and unaided can win wars is bunk. Bunk always interferes with efficient prosecution of a war; in this instance, it is getting in the way of the second front, our most urgent task. It is no accident that the doctrine's most vociferous supporters include professional Red-baiters and former America Firsters who oppose the second front for fear of aiding the Soviet Union "too much." Major wars have never been won by a single weapon, whether lance, machine gun, or plane, and the belief that they can be, savors of the miraculous. Belief in miracles ordinarily flourishes among those elements of society who are past their historical prime, among people who have lost confidence in themselves. This is strong language, I know, but examination of the evidence will cause you equal alarm.

The victory-through-air-power school contends that we should scrap our present "balanced" program of army, navy, and air force construction, and concentrate instead on producing a fleet of huge bombers, say, in the 100-to-125-ton class, three to five times the size of any planes now in regular use. These will presumably enable us to pulverize Germany's transportation system, industries, and cities from bases in the United States (long distance raids would be made necessary by loss of the British Isles meanwhile) and so compel Hitler to surrender. Japan is to be disposed of in the same way. Building the armada of wonder bombers will require a minimum of three years. We cannot, we are told, win in less time by other means, anyway.

The logic on which these proposals and promises are based is entirely false. One-weapon theories are not new. Every inventor who has fashioned a new tool of war has advanced the claim that his brain child was irresistible and guaranteed victory against any opposition. None, of course, has ever been able to deliver the goods; war is too complex an affair to admit of so simple a solution. War is the clash of many-sided social organizations. Just as no single drug treats all diseases equally well, so no single weapon can deal with every facet of the enemy's national organism. The airplane is no exception.

Air power's specific claim to universal effectiveness rests on an atrociously distorted view of the human race and its social institutions. It is invariably assumed by the de Severskys that the man on the ground has no protection from death from the sky (other than more air power of his own) and that he is too paralyzed by fright to devise defensive means anyway. At a certain moment, of course, he suddenly becomes brave like a lion and rises against his overlords, and then in de Seversky's view our troops do the "policing." Moreover, he is dependent for his existence on a highly complicated industrial system consisting of nothing but bottlenecks. The destruction of a comparatively small number of plants cripples the entire manufacturing organism.

In the first place, organized human beings, as Chungking, London, Moscow, and half a dozen other cities including Berlin have shown, are not paralyzed by terror when exposed to attack. They fight back. There are a surprising number of measures which they can take to reduce the efficiency of the bombers overhead. Besides anti-aircraft guns, which are increasingly effective, these include damage control, emergency repair organizations, camouflage, shelter, and dispersal. Their effectiveness is indicated by the fact that casualties per bomb are many fewer than anticipated before the war even by the optimists. Second, factories have proved tougher to knock out than expected. Only a comparatively small part of each factory plays a bottleneck role in that plant. To hit that area—assuming we know just where it is under those camouflaged roofs below—requires bombing of a precision attained so far only in extremely expensive low-altitude daylight raids.

Air blitz may well work against small, poorly organized, and defended nations or areas, as in Crete (which was not, however, an example of "pure" air blitz *a la* de Seversky, for planes functioned here more decisively as troop transports than as bombers). But neither Germany nor Japan falls in the category of Crete or Holland. Germany, in fact, has long since been taking air raid precaution steps. During the last two years literally thousands of plants have been moved from the valley of the Rhine and, for other reasons, from the occupied countries to the Lower Elbe, Silesia, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. These are regions twice as far from England as the Ruhr. Nearly all of these units have been housed in small, scattered buildings. The Wehrwirtschaft (war economy) board also initiated a year ago a policy of placing capacity orders with small firms, a complete reversal of the previous Nazi policy of systematically starving small business to death in favor of the giant trusts. German industry is thus being dispersed. In the process, previous bottleneck factories, such as they were, have doubtless been duplicated half a dozen times over, making the whole industrial organism far more flexible and less liable to fatal damage from bombing.

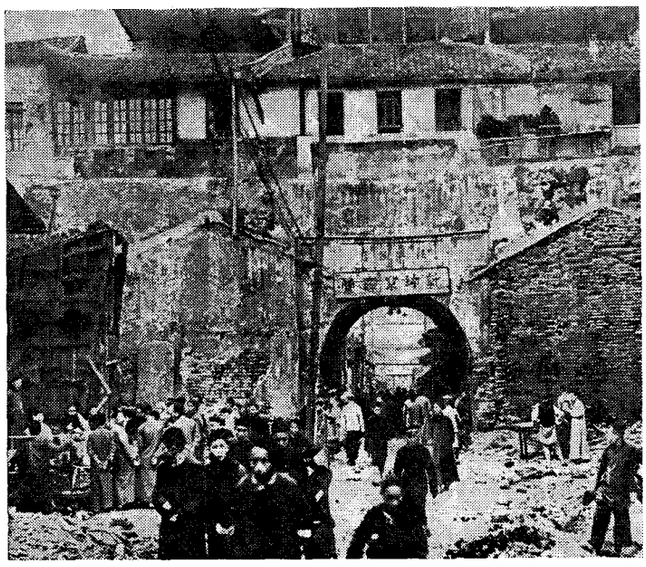
Air power employed as de Seversky, Ziff, and the others propose is thus condemned to ineffectiveness—the direct opposite of what the "bomber boosters" claim. The entire experience of the war bears this point out. Two sustained all-air assaults on enemy cities and industries have been carried out: the six-month Nazi attack on Britain in 1940, and the continuing RAF offensive over Germany and occupied Europe. Neither has been able to secure a marked enough advantage and concentration of force to show decisive result. The air war advocates answer this by saying that such a concentration can be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bombs That Failed

MOST BOMBED CITY IN THE WORLD: Valletta, Malta. Despite 2,000 bombings, daily life continues.

LONDON UNDEFEATED: The 1,000-planes-a-night blitzes failed to destroy it.



ANCIENT CHUNGKING LIVES: The Mikado's planes have only stiffened China's resistance.

achieved; all we have to do is to drop everything else. To which the facts reply: our opponents possess two of the most terrible military machines in history. We can never achieve decisive superiority over the Germans by scattering our forces all over the map, and just waiting until our bombers are ready, which is what limiting our war effort to an air offensive means. The airplane is an exceptionally powerful instrument when correctly used—in coordination with other weapons or as the most efficient means of transport yet devised. De Seversky does a service when he calls our attention to this fact. But like any other implement of war, it can be nullified by improper employment. As part of the fighting team of all branches, the plane has two important advantages which are sacrificed when it is forced to operate independently: its fire is necessarily concentrated in the combat area; and the damage it does can be made permanent by ground or naval units (also part of the fighting team) who seize and hold enemy target areas immediately as these targets are attacked from the air.

The implications of the "pure" air power advocates' theories and their wide popularity are serious and far-reaching. The United Nations are in a tough spot. At this moment the war is progressing unfavorably. The road ahead is obviously rocky and still uphill. To the untrained and unalert, the bomber seems to offer a simple, easy way out of our difficulties. No need to fight the war in the horrible present; tomorrow, tomorrow we shall joust over Germany on the wings of a great armored steed. Whether by accident or design, both *Victory Through Air Power* and *The Coming Battle of Germany* are extremely vague about the present, particularly de Seversky's book. They speak in golden terms of what we will do in 1945 and offer no counsel for 1942, or even 1943. Their appeal is identical with that of the sumptuous, romantic, un-humdrum movie: escape.

Victory Through Air Power employs still another device which is attractive to the unwary. There is a feeling of uneasiness abroad in the land, a lack of confidence in many who hold high office. Are not many of those the same men who blundered in 1939, 1940, 1941, and 1942? They are indeed. People seek a new voice, particularly one willing to excoriate the blunderers. This is what de Seversky does with unbounded violence and unlimited invective. But these attacks are actually the cheapest kind of demagogy. Throughout the book de Seversky flings about the wildest charges. Never, however, does he perform the *genuine* service of naming names and adducing proofs.

THERE are among us, unfortunately, to borrow columnist Sam Grafton's vivid phase, "many who like their history simple enough to be written on the head of a pin." De Seversky's book and the whole theory which is built up in its pages is made to order for them. One reason why the doctrine of "pure" air power seems so reasonable is the plane's inherently imagination-catching quality. Its role in the war has been spectacular, an effect heightened by the irresponsible way in which our press and radio, with their habit of oversimplification, have glorified it to a point where many believe that no other weapons have contributed anything to the war. Those who are satisfied by such pap will eat up the first half of the book, in which de Seversky gives his version of what has happened since September 1939. It's exquisitely simple and grotesquely wrong.

To illustrate: Hitler built his Siegfried Line, says de Seversky, to encourage the French to continued faith in their Maginot Line. Hitler's main purpose in attacking Russia is not the elimination of the socialist state, but merely acquisition of resources and additional industrial facilities. Germany has made no real attempt to sink British battleships by air power in order not to disabuse the British of their belief in the Royal Navy. The Soviets have been handicapped by possession of few modern aircraft. The democracies have been in a jam simply because they didn't build enough of the right kind of planes. And going

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

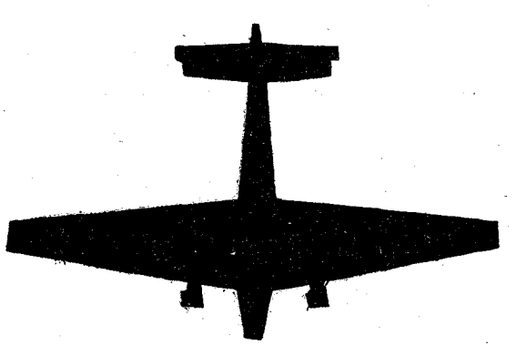
back before 1939, we are told that Britain withdrew its fleet from the Mediterranean during the Ethiopian crisis in 1935, for fear of the Italian air force which de Seversky admits he thought was pretty good, and so, therefore, the British must have thought it pretty good, too. (They didn't.) Such is the historical understanding of a man who proposes to guide our strategy!

De Seversky's conclusion leads into strange and menacing political byways. First, his dismissal of any necessity for fighting in the present obviously makes "unnecessary" a second front, the only practical means for us to fight in 1942. Accordingly, we find quite a number of those whom we may suspect are not too keen on fighting the war against Hitler, now or in 1945—the former isolationists—dipping into *Victory Through Air Power* for arguments. "Why bother to send these colossal expeditions (AEFs)?" he asks rhetorically, and so do the former isolationists. "What chance do enemy sea and land forces have to operate with any hope of success under skies held firmly by our air power? Why should we match soldier for soldier against the teeming hordes of Europe and Asia in a duel of mutual slaughter. . . ? I submit that such a procedure (invasion), under certain circumstances may succeed, but at best it would be disastrously costly in resources and manpower. Why need we adhere to the ancient pattern of warfare when air power offers a simpler and more effective strategy?"

Quoting such arguments from de Seversky is particularly useful to defeatists and appeasers. De Seversky himself was not a pre-Pearl Harbor isolationist. Second, Americans will no longer listen to people who speak against offensive action as such. To be heard, one must propose the offensive. The people are tired of the "do-nothing" static defense mentality. De Seversky enables the former isolationists to roast the *most* urgently required offensive task and at the same time sound more noisily bellicose than Thor himself. A case in point is the blood-and-thunder campaign for all-out air war in the Scripps-Howard newspapers. At the same time, the Scripps-Howard papers are attacking the second front both on the ground of its costliness and in the usual Scripps-Howard manner: Frederick Woltman has been busy lately pinning red labels on proponents of the second front.

Victory Through Air Power also offers a streamlined design for American imperialism. In his chapter on "organization for air supremacy," de Seversky paints a picture of a world dominated by super-colossal warplanes based on the United States. His diagrams show the entire globe, save part of Australia, some of the East Indies, southern India and Africa, and the southern island of New Zealand, within the reach of our planes. More than one would-be American Junker has already caught the point and is licking his chops in anticipation. For once, however, their performance is merely amusing; "pure" air power alone will never furnish the military basis for world control. It would be pleasant if all imperialist-minded Americans were stupid enough to fall in love with this notion.

TACTICUS.



Old Hat

THIS column thinks readers ought to insist that win-the-war publications purge their pages of the anti-Negro prejudice which seeps into even some of the best of them. We do not have in mind the blatant race chauvinism of the southern press, but rather the insidious condescension and innuendo that writers and artists, often unwittingly, inject into their stuff, and editors, just as unwittingly, publish. For instance, "Collier's" of August 8 and 15 published in its "Any Week" column two jokes about Negroes that on the surface seem harmless. Yet they have the effect—an effect fortified by offensive drawings—of perpetuating the popular notion of Negroes as child-like and ludicrous. Even the Office of War Information recently slipped, publishing in the August 18 issue of its official bulletin one of those "cute" cannibal pictures.

One of the worst things of this type that we've seen lately was a story by Robert J. Casey in the August 17 issue of the Chicago "Daily News" and New York "Post." The "Post" headlined the story: "Niceties of Conduct on Meeting Cannibals of Solomon Islands," and the editor was evidently so delighted with the piece that he also announced it on the front page above the masthead. The character of the story can be gleaned from this: "The people are Melanesians, dark skinned, kinky haired, and not too bright."

It's about time newspaper and magazine editors learned that the idea that some races are innately brighter than others is a Nazi idea without the slightest scientific support. And it's also about time they learned that the only cannibals in the world today are those of Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo, and we need the help of the dark-skinned peoples to destroy them.

Star-Guessers

". . . MOST prosperous profession (in Germany) is that of fortune-telling. Although forbidden by the police, hundreds of fortune-tellers are making good money by 'comforting' the wives, mothers, and sweethearts of soldiers fighting in Russia.

"Public attention was turned to the astrology racket when one of the star-readers was sued for the return of 1,000 marks by the widow of an officer killed on the Eastern Front. This swindler had amassed a fortune of nearly 250,000 marks since the beginning of the war against Russia, according to the evidence given in court.

"All he told the relatives of soldiers presumed killed was, 'He is a prisoner of war in Soviet prison camp X.' "

—"Cavalcade," English news weekly published in London

Round-up

THESE are troubled and dangerous days for the Scandinavians, but they still enjoy a story. One of the most recent to come out of Norway is about the Nazi who was gored to death by a bull. The secret police shot ten cows in retribution.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIR STAFFORD GIVES THE ANSWER

These excerpts from a notable speech on India to the British House of Commons destroy the argument that Indians cannot govern themselves.

A GOOD many Honorable Members have addressed appeals to the Indian people and to the Indian parties to be reasonable under the difficult circumstances of today. I believe it is more important to address those appeals to the government and the people of Great Britain than it is to the people of India. I think that statements which have been sent out by the Indian Congress have been reasonable and dignified, setting out a point of view which they hold deeply and earnestly, and asking for the assistance of the government to help them to solve a difficult situation.

I regret very much the final passage of the Lord Privy Seal's speech. . . . I think it showed a lack of appreciation of the new circumstances which have inevitably arisen. . . . The new developments in the world situation, and the avowed objectives of the British government in declaring war, have made the treatment of India a test question in the eyes of the world, as well as of many people in this country and the people of India itself. It raises, indeed, the whole question of our future intentions as regards British imperialism. . . .

The argument has been brought forward by the Lord Privy Seal that it is difficult to work out any satisfactory method of central self-government for India because of the communal difficulty. That, in my view, is not a valid argument. The same could be said of Poland with its Russian, Jewish, German, and Polish citizens. The same could be said of Czechoslovakia with its Sudetens, Czechs, and Slovaks; and I cannot understand the argument, if it is put forward on the basis of democracy, which deprives a majority of its rights, in order to protect a minority. It may be necessary to modify some of the rights of a majority, and to get them to agree to such modifications, as the Congress has willingly agreed, but you are not justified in taking away the rights of a majority because you assert that you desire to protect the minority. If you do so, you are, in fact, converting the majority into the minority.

. . . It is essential, if you are to have democratic government, that the minority should obey majority rule, and that is what happens in this country every day of the week. If you accept democracy, if you set up a democratic system, which is to ascertain which class, or caste, or party is in the majority, you must then accept the results of that democratic system, and, at the moment, whether you like it or not, the Congress Party is in the majority in British India. . . .

BEFORE making one or two practical suggestions of what might be done to resolve the situation, I desire to mention one other matter. That is the effect upon the European situation and upon our difficulties in Europe, which our refusal to grant a further measure of self-government to India at this time is likely to have: I believe that effect will be shown in three ways. First, among a large number of our own people it will demonstrate the unreality of the professions of this government about the freedom and democracy which they desire and will, thereby, seriously diminish the unity and the force of our war effort. Secondly, I believe that among neutrals, and particularly in the United States of America, where there is very great interest in the Indian situation, it will reinforce isolationist and anti-British tendencies. . . . Thirdly—and this fact we must face fairly and squarely—a hostile non-cooperative India, with all the dangers of conflict in India which that is bound to bring, if tempers are exacerbated, is certainly not going to help us in our difficulties, and may become a grave hindrance.

. . . What I suggested was that if we profess to be fighting this war for freedom and democracy and deny it to a part of the British empire which, on our own admission and on the governor-general's admission, is fully fit for self-government, the Indian people will say, "This is only another case of the British professing one thing and doing another." I believe we have to make up our minds, therefore, whether we are genuinely determined, not in words but in action, to give self-government to the people of India—and I believe that if we did so, we should be able to welcome that country as a great and powerful ally and friend for all the years in the future—or whether we are to ally ourselves with the reactionary Indian princes, as we have been doing in the past, for a joint exploitation of the Indian people by the British Raj and the Indian princes. . . .

. . . WHAT then ought our reply to be to the request put forward by the Indian Congress for the elucidation of our war aims and intentions as regards India? I suggest that it ought to be made, and made now, upon lines somewhat of this kind:

. . . The Indian people can be assured that our immediate objective is self-government for the Indian people.

. . . Secondly, we consent to the election of a new Central Legislative Assembly for British India. . . . I see no difficulty. The right honorable gentleman has said that you cannot have an election in India. You can have elections in Quebec, so why not in India? If people are busy, put more people on. Surely we are not going to say that we will jeopardize the whole future of this country in India because people are so busy in India that they cannot have an election. That seems to me to be so fantastically unreal, in the face of the enormous dangers that exist in this situation, that it cannot, I am convinced, be anything except an excuse that is put forward by people who do not want an election in India today. . . .

Thirdly, the majority parties in that legislature should form a government which the viceroy should then appoint as his executive council. It is true that, technically and in accordance with the constitution, the executive council would not be a cabinet, but there is no reason on earth why our government should not give an undertaking that the viceroy would deal with that executive council, so appointed from the members of the majority of the Legislative Assembly, as if it were a cabinet on all major matters; that is to say, he would accept their advice as the crown here accepts the advice of the cabinet when duly tendered to it.

On the basis of that immediate rearrangement, and on the basis of our pledge to grant full self-government after the war, we could, I believe, with safety and confidence, invite the wholehearted cooperation of the Indian people in our effort to establish democracy and freedom in the world, of which determination we should have given an earnest declaration by our willingness to cooperate with India in winning her own freedom and democracy at the earliest possible moment. That declaration would not only, I believe, win the support of all British India, but would be acclaimed throughout the world as a great act of a great and sincere democratic people.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS.

(Postscript: Unfortunately the above speech was made at precisely 6:28 PM on Thursday, Oct. 26, 1939. However, it answers in the fullest manner the difficulties raised by Sir Stafford Cripps during and after the failure of his mission to India in March-April, 1942.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BATTLE FOR NEW YORK

The conventions were Round One in a battle of national and international significance. Jim Farley and his man Bennett. The Christian Front influence. The ALP's role. An editorial.

IN POLITICS as in war too little and too late generally add up to disaster. The past week saw this painfully illustrated at the New York State Democratic convention. Because the win-the-war, pro-Roosevelt forces in the Democratic Party entered the campaign for the gubernatorial nomination hesitantly and belatedly, and because they fought with inadequate weapons, skirting around the main issue of the war and foreign policy, they suffered defeat. As a result, the Democratic Party offers the voters a candidate around whom are grouped the forces of defeatism and appeasement. Fortunately, however, the voters have another choice; the American Labor Party has nominated for governor a win-the war New Deal Democrat, Dean Alfange, running on a platform pledged to all-out prosecution of the war. (As we go to press, Thomas E. Dewey has been nominated by the Republicans. We shall comment on his candidacy in next week's issue.)

The New York election campaign is not only of national but of international significance. What happened during the past week is the first round in a struggle that will be waged not only this year, but in 1944, and has a direct bearing on both the war effort and the postwar situation. The stakes are far bigger than state control. What is being fought out is the question of what forces shall control the federal government and the destiny of our country in war and in peace. Behind John J. Bennett, who showed his colors back in 1936 when he spoke at a pro-Franco meeting, and behind Farley, are a sinister gang. This gang dare not openly raise the flag of appeasement at this time, but they are hoping to capture the state machinery in order to obstruct our country's war program and challenge the Roosevelt-Wallace leadership in world affairs. The booing of our outstanding war leaders, President Roosevelt, Governor Lehman, Senator Wagner, by the Bennett delegates, was shocking evidence that the Christian Front and other fifth column elements had taken over the Democratic convention. And when the New York *Daily News* in an editorial on August 24 linked the Farley-Bennett triumph with the refusal of a federal grand jury to indict its fifth column cousin, the Chicago *Tribune,* and gloated over both as rebuffs to our Commander-in-Chief, it understood the nature of the Bennett candidacy.

BUT Jim Farley's appeasement chickens are still far from being hatched. The American Labor Party, which produced 419,979 votes for Governor Lehman in 1938, happens to hold the balance of power in the state. Since its formation in 1936 the ALP has been part of a broad coalition of labor, the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party, which represents a majority of the Democratic voters, and various independents. The nomination of Bennett has driven a wedge into this alliance. But by naming its own candidate and adopting a militant platform the ALP is helping reconstruct that coalition and providing an opportunity for rallying the win-the-war elements of all parties behind President Roosevelt's program.

The Labor Party platform pledges "our fullest devotion and all our efforts to the winning of the war and to a just peace which will be made only after complete victory has been achieved." The platform's proposals regarding such matters as labor relations, war work for New York, price control, rents and housing, taxation, social security, health, education, civilian defense, and farm aid, and its demand for the passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill and the ending of racial discrimination in war industry are imbued with the progressive spirit that one has come to expect from the ALP.

However, it is evident that the platform, as well as every phase of the Labor Party's work, has suffered from the division within the party's ranks. Both wings of the ALP are united on all essential questions of policy, yet the right wing leaders of the state committee stubbornly cling to obsolete hates and prejudices that weaken the organization's effectiveness. In the matter of the platform, for example, certain shortcomings would probably have been eliminated if the New York County organization, headed by Rep. Vito Marcantonio, had been represented on the platform committee and if discussion from the floor had been permitted. We have in mind the fact that the platform makes no mention of such a crucial issue as the second front, contains no reference to America's allies, and tends to be defensive in tone, placing its main emphasis on the protection of living standards and not enough on the mobilization of the people for total participation in the fight against the Axis.

Now more than ever it is urgent that the American Labor Party close ranks, draw new strength by including the CIO unions and other constructive elements in the leadership, and wage an all-out fight against the Farley-Bennett copperhead crowd. And let it be noted in Washington that nothing would contribute so much to clearing the political atmosphere and scotching the defeatist game as the opening of a Western Front that would take the country from ankle-deep participation in the war into the all-out fight for America's salvation.

"That was Chart 18, Pop."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COUDERT—VICHY LAWYER

Barbara Giles puts the candidate for New York's senate under the microscope. His record and his backers. The meaning of his inquisition against the teachers.

I SUPPOSE it is pretty exasperating for Vichy's rulers to have to worry, at this date, about an old democratic custom like free elections. Especially is it annoying for their lawyer, Frederic Rene Coudert, Jr. To carry the Seventeenth Senatorial District of New York won't be an easy task for Senator Coudert this November. It may well prove impossible. A lot of questions will be asked the candidate, which he will have to answer in plain English instead of the polished French that quicksilvers around the law offices of Coudert Bros. Nor will it help him much to throw at the inquiring his famous "report on subversive activities in New York public schools." More likely it will be thrown at him first, in which case it will be equal to a bushel of spoiled tomatoes. For "subversive," in Senator Coudert's opinion, means just about what Charles Coughlin says it does and Coughlin, it will be remembered, translated his definitions from the German. Coudert, of course, does not put it as coarsely as *Social Justice* did—he simply follows the same reasoning and arrives at the same score.

The score in the Coudert committee's report on "subversive activities" was: "Communist conspiracy," 365 pages; fascist conspiracy, none. "No substantial evidence" of fascist activity, reported Senator Coudert without batting an eye. Which no longer surprises those honest souls who all but drew pictures for him of outstanding fascists in the New York public schools and begged the committee to look, please just *look,* at the evidence. They've learned since why Frederic Coudert, Jr., couldn't be expected to investigate fascists. It would have impaired the "international reputation" of his law firm, a reputation of especial value to its most prominent client, the Vichy government. Besides, Coudert himself had to maintain a national reputation that has brought pleas for his reelection from points far removed from Manhattan. One of the most recent came from Nebraska; it was voiced by Charles B. Hudson of Omaha, whose unrestrained anti-Semitism and pro-Axis endeavors have twice brought him before the federal grand jury investigating sedition. Leaders of roughneck fascist groups, like Edward Lodge Curran and Coughlin, have made plain that Coudert is fine by them too, as fine as Dies.

Outwardly he doesn't resemble Dies in the least. He is expensively groomed, belongs to two yacht clubs, and is particularly admired by the "so *nice*" school of manners. While his committee hearings were conducted with the wildest disorder as far as legal forms were concerned, the chairman remained smooth. When counsel for Coudert's victims rose and asked permission to protect his client's rights, Coudert did not say to a police guard, "Throw him out"; he said, "Please remove Mr. So-and-So from the court room." If Mr. So-and-So persisted, Coudert dropped the "please," but he still didn't get rough. That was left to one or two other committee members. The chairman did not muss his curly hair or forget to smile occasionally. But after two years of an "investigation" that cost $200,000, thirty-four of New York's most competent teachers had been fired, and one, Morris U. Schappes, is still fighting in the Court of Appeals to keep out of jail because he was convicted of "perjury" when, in testifying before the Coudert committee, he refused to conform to the Vichy fascist pattern and conception of Communist activity.

Still, as blitzes go, Senator Coudert's could hardly be described even by a Berlin communique as a "triumphal advance." It's true that teachers have been dismissed and the educational budget cut. But the senator met battle and when the smoke had cleared, the corpses on his enemies' side were depressingly few. They didn't nearly match the casualty list which Coudert had prepared in advance by forcing the Teachers Unions to turn over to him their membership rolls—a procedure that must have startled some anti-labor employers who were resigned to paying heavy fees to spy agencies for compiling such lists. So far from killing off the Teachers Unions, Coudert couldn't stop them from fighting back. They're fighting still—and the resistance to Coudert, which began way back when the senator figured he was sitting pretty, shows healthy results today in the New York schools, which are united behind victory over fascism.

Another thing that cramped Coudert's offensive was that unfortunate little incident at Pearl Harbor. It changed the picture—more people have begun to see the ties between union-busting and playing blind-man's-buff when it comes to fascism; between counseling Vichy and attacking public education; between Red-baiting and dealing with Hitler's lads. Mixed in with all these things is still another element, something called Clerical Fascism. It's a long story, which may as well begin with Vichy—

SENATOR COUDERT'S firm claims to represent not Vichy so much as the French government. That is, Coudert Bros. had been the legal agents of the Third Republic and then the Third Republic government changed into Vichy (just like that), so now they represent their old client's "successor." Can they help it if the government changed? The answer to that is easy: Vichy is not a French government, it's made in Berlin.

It wouldn't occur to Coudert Bros. to represent the Fighting French government—although they did once try to get a bit of business from a Fighting Frenchman here, who was nearly fooled into believing that he had fallen in with some real sons of France. Just how much they are doing for the Vichy gang now can only be guessed. NEW MASSES readers will recall a photostat in the May 5 issue reproducing a story from the New York *Times* that Coudert Bros. had acted as agents in the purchase of a Manhattan residence for the Vichy consulate general. Not long ago New York papers revealed that Senator Coudert's firm was fighting in the courts to prevent the Free Belgians from getting back $228,000,000 of gold entrusted to the pre-Vichy Bank of France and later sent to Berlin by the Vichymen. The Free Belgians want their money back to fight Hitler and they're trying to get it from the Bank of France's gold in this country. But the bank is now under Vichy control and Coudert's law company is "protecting" the gold. Senator Coudert has not tried to explain or apologize for these facts. But then, why should he? If a law firm accepts a fee, it has to earn the money—and if the fee happens to come from some merchants of death, it's simply bound to have a little blood on it.

The Couderts, however, do not stop at strictly legal services for their famous client. On May 25, 1941, Frederic Coudert,

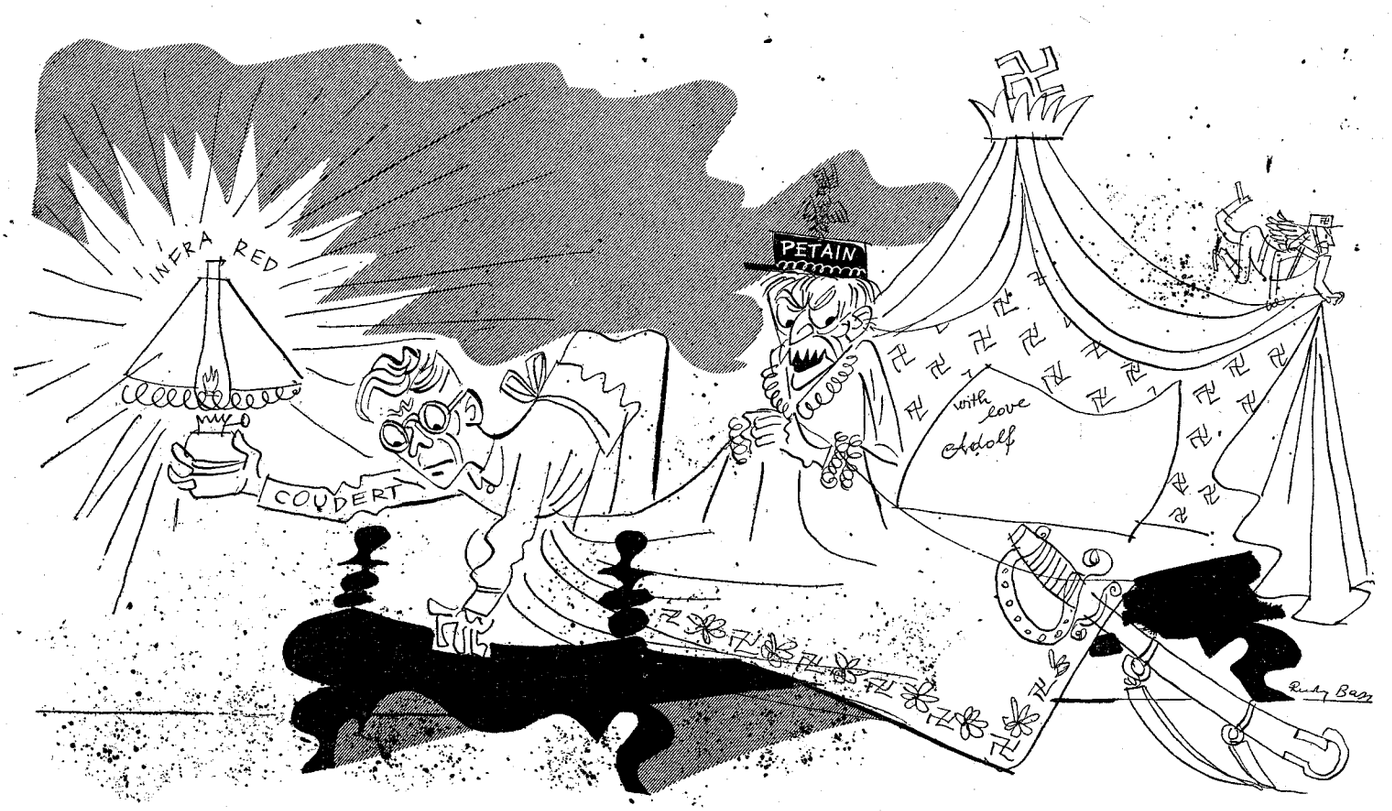
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sr., wrote a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune* asking the American people please to "understand" Vichy. It is even more important for the State Department to understand—which may explain why the Couderts decided last year to close their Paris office and establish one in Washington instead. It's no secret that the State Department harbors men who have as much respect for the Couderts' international reputation as Petain himself. They are pushovers for a Vichy agent—just as they were pushovers for Franco's apologists. Coudert, Sr., was one of the latter too, though he didn't formally announce it. In January 1939 he took time from his legal duties to write a long letter to the New York *Times* explaining—with a delicate little overtone of regret—that it was now useless to lift the embargo on arms to republican Spain since the government was almost in *"articulo mortis,"* and why be so cruel as to revive it and "prolong" the terrible conflict.

THE interest of Coudert Bros. in foreign governments has not always been on the side of their clients' "successors." When the Soviets came into power, Coudert's firm stuck by the czar, and it has done some fancy footwork in American courts on behalf of the White Guard. In 1933 a Coudert attorney presented an alleged expert in Russian law to testify solemnly that the czarist regime would not have regarded the Soviet as legal since the latter had violated a czarist law against overthrow of the government. The "expert" was Boris Brasol, who translated into English and promoted one of the most revolting anti-Semitic documents of all times, the forged *Protocols of Zion.* Brasol, who can be reached through the Coudert offices, is linked with such Russian fascists in America as Anastase Vonsiatsky, now in prison as a Nazi and Japanese spy.

Small wonder Senator Coudert did not expose fascists in the New York public schools—a gentleman does not kiss and tell. But others told. His backers in America, followers of Franco, Hitler, Coughlin, practically danced in the streets when his committee got going. It was exactly what they had been asking for: a Dies committee of their own, headed by just such a man as Coudert. They openly embraced the chairman, who pretended not to see them. When "revelations" from the hearings began to shove the war off the front pages of the press, Coudert's sponsors, in their own words, had "difficulty containing ourselves." "Each night, as we read our evening newspaper, we fairly burst with pride," burbled the *Educational Signpost,* journal of the American Education Association, a New York group of teachers whose leadership is obviously Coughlinite.

For anti-Semites, those were the days. Silver Charlie himself had eagerly published the names of leaders in the Teachers Union, identifying them as "Jew," "Jewess," or "Gentile." In the first two categories he included every name except those which were so unmistakably "Aryan" that no one could be fooled by false labels. Of the twenty-six teachers suspended from City College as a result of Coudert's smears, all but four were Jews. Some received anonymous postcards addressing them as "dirty Kike." An anti-Semitic teacher decided that this was a propitious time to express his views in the classroom. Another, Timothy Murphy of Gompers Vocational School, permitted his pet pupil to sell *Social Justice* on the streets during school hours. Murphy not only tried to recruit students for the Christian Front; he invited a Nazi bundsman to "come to school and talk to some of our younger members." A memo on his activities was personally handed to Coudert, who bowed and put it in his pocket. Subsequently Murphy was "removed" from Gompers to Chelsea Vocational School, with extra pay. Hitler must have gotten a good laugh out of that if he heard of it, and it's not unlikely he did—for, according to Pierre van Paassen, writing in *Liberty,* Nazi agents in America reported to der fuehrer on the progress of the Coudert and Dies com-



"Was that a Red, mon ami?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mittees during Berlin's preparations for war on this country.

If you call Coudert an anti-Semite, he will put on a "who—me?" look. Some of his "best friends," you know. . . . And he ostentatiously keeps a Jewish boy as secretary to prove it. He would also deny any sympathy with Coughlinism and probably expect you to believe that on the evidence of his appearance alone. An aristocratic yachtsman who always looks as though he had just come back from a vacation in Florida, what could he have in common with Coughlin's street stabbers? Nothing socially, to be sure. But with the "reverend" Charlie himself he shares the same role in which Franco and Petain have starred, which has aided Hitler's conquests. I've mentioned it above: Clerical Fascism.

I KNOW that statement takes explaining, since Senator Coudert has managed to acquire a reputation as a "good Catholic" and good Catholics can hardly be fascists too since fascism is a skull-and-crossbones over their religious and civil liberties. In speaking of Clerical Fascism in connection with Coudert, I am not referring to such facts as that he got the legislature to approve free bus transportation for parochial school children; or that he authored the Coudert-McLaughlin bill to take the children out of school an hour each week for religious instruction. These are relatively mild attempts to weaken the traditional American separation of church and state. They are useful to Coudert in strengthening his "good Catholic" reputation. Nor am I referring to the fact that Coudert Bros. are said to represent "the interests of the Church" in America. This may be true and perfectly unobjectionable as far as legal representation is concerned. But the question that does concern us is: whose interests does the "good Catholic" Coudert represent in politics?

Certainly not the Catholic people's. Ask those in Spain what "protection against Bolshevism" meant in the hands of the "good Catholic" Franco. Ask French Catholics what it means when a similar "good Catholic," Petain, calls for a roundup of "Communists." Msgr. John A. Ryan, director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, once gave some good advice to readers of *Social Justice* and the Brooklyn *Tablet:* "Don't let yourselves be fooled or frightened by fakers." He was referring to the "Red menace" thriller-dillers spun by Coughlin and his partners. Coudert is one of the suaver raconteurs in this field, but he is no less hair-raising. Look at his committee's report. It is a smoothly written, "judicial" sounding job, livened up with cute little subheads such as "Trouble Brewing for the Comrades" and "Stalin, PhD," as well as by the unintentional humor of some stoolpigeon testimony *(e.g.,* William Martin Canning, pretended ex-Communist: "A typical Party technique was that of self-criticism. This, Mr. Canning said, was largely Russian in character."). But no amount of smoothness can hide the violence between the lines. A cold hatred for organized labor, for progressive activities, a contempt of truth and order—these are what add up to the final violent conclusion in the report: that teachers who happen to have a Communist "reputation" should be dismissed without trial. Senator Coudert once said it in less formal language. Addressing the Republican Business Women on June 3, 1941, he let himself go as follows:

"Now if your dog had rabies you wouldn't clap him into jail after he had bitten a number of persons—you'd put a bullet into his head, if you had that kind of iron in your soul.

"It is going to require brutal treatment to handle these teachers. . . ."

Here was the real Coudert, unexpurgated and unedited—a rough draft of what appeared finally as a report from a Legislative Committee. The senator, you see, can even use the jive of a Coughlin or a Franco. It isn't language that good Catholics approve, but what does that matter? The Coughlins aren't out to please Catholics who really practice their religion. Their friends are a handful of the hierarchy plus a number of people who aren't even Catholic in name—Hitler, for one. "Brutal treatment" will not strike them as an intemperate phrase; it stands for one of their cleaner sports. And if it isn't popular in a democracy then that's the fault of democracy, which has been defined by a Coudert admirer, one Lambert Fairchild, as "mob rule by people who are too dumb to talk to." And by another, Dr. Edward I. Fenlon of Brooklyn College, as "a mere rebellious, anarchistic, paganistic shibboleth." Dr. Fenlon was not subversive enough for investigation by Coudert. Indeed, he felt safe enough to offer to testify before the committee—as he had done for Dies in 1938.

French fascist friends of the Coudert family have also complained that it is a nuisance, this democracy. One of them, Alexis Carrel, wrote a whole book about it, titled *Man the Unknown,* and inspired, according to the author's preface, by Frederic Coudert, Sr., (who has named one of his sons for Carrel). The author, who collaborated with Charles Lindbergh in attempts to construct a robot heart, thinks that an "ascetic and mystic minority" should rule the "dissolute and degraded majority."

COUDERT, JR., it should be said, has never publicly made any such remarks about democracy; his attitude will have to be judged by his deeds. Aside from his undemocratic investigation, his firm's connections with Vichy, his sweet tolerance toward native fascists, Frederic Coudert, Jr., has done as much as he could to cripple state aid to an indispensable democratic institution, that of public education. His legislative scissors-work on educational budgets is well known. It's a matter of record that he began to fire away at the Teachers Unions soon after the latter had managed to reduce a proposed budget slash by a considerable amount. One of the articles of faith in the credo of Coudert supporters is that the three R's are plenty enough education for those who can't pay for more. Nor is that only the opinion of big realtors who worry about taxes—and who are allied with Coudert Bros. through the latter's own extensive real estate holdings. It is also a first article of fascist faith: if a "dissolute and degraded" majority doesn't exist, then create it. This makes it easier for the "mystic minority" with their mystic guns.

We shall see how Senator Coudert comes out in his tussle with majorities this November. It is true that there are certain wealthy elements in his very wealthy district who can find excuses for Vichy's fair-haired boy. And after all he's a Republican candidate and there are plenty of Republicans in the area. But he won't face two candidates this time, who will divide the opposition and let him through. His foes are solidly behind one person, Jerry Finkelstein, candidate of the Democrats and the American Labor Party. Organized labor has classified the defeat of Coudert as an important part of the war effort, and it means every word of it. The senator may wish already that he hadn't spent so much time building that national reputation. It's one thing to be famous, another to be notorious. Coudert's notoriety has brought him up against some national opposition, expressed through a citizens' committee which is now in process of formation. The issue in the Finkelstein-Coudert contest is not "local"—it's even international. BARBARA GILES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HUNT FOR MANPOWER

It won't be long before labor shortages in the war factories reach the critical stage. Case history of a zinc miner. Why workers move from job to job. Planning and training.

Washington.

TOTAL war is making the most rigorous demands on the productive systems and on the manpower of every nation. Recently from Paris we heard again of the manpower shortages encountered by the Nazis—and their fascist solution based on the most brutal enslavement of the populations of Germany and the occupied countries alike. In our own country as well, we are beginning to feel the strain of this all-embracing war; we too face the problem of finding sufficient labor reserves. But democracy will not and dare not take recourse in brutalization and slavery. And still we cannot allow men to idle in one part of the country while elsewhere the productive apparatus halts because of labor scarcity. "Our labor supply," states the fifth and latest report of the House Tolan committee, "will become our most critical resource." To utilize most effectively the nation's manpower, the report declares, "calls for a detailed knowledge of the total demand for labor in war production, the preparation of schedules for the flow of such labor to the expanding jobs as contracts are undertaken, and the training and upgrading of that labor to keep pace with expansion. The job calls for the location of available labor supplies, and over-all planning for their training and placement."

Unfortunately we have as yet made little progress in meeting the emergency demands on our manpower. So far, the Tolan report charges, the War Manpower Commission, headed by Paul V. McNutt, has failed to function. It has still to evolve a realistic program to overcome labor shortages which already are felt in certain key industries. These shortages are particularly acute in non-ferrous metals—copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, chrome, and manganese. The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union has for its part issued a memorandum with conclusions closely approximating those of the Tolan committee. Both these studies point out that unless the crisis in manpower is met forthwith, severe disruption will occur all through the war production effort.

THE causes of manpower shortages are varied and numerous. Primarily, the Tolan committee states, "Full manpower mobilization is contingent upon full mobilization of production." Perhaps the inter-relationship between production and manpower is most apparent when illustrated by a typical case history—like that of the zinc miner in a lonely camp in the New Mexican mountains. The causes that finally bring this miner to migrate to the large industrial centers—thereby contributing to the labor shortage at the mines, which in turn reduces zinc production—throws light on the problems the Manpower Commission must resolve.

The zinc miner lives with his family as near the mine as possible. But each morning he must travel approximately fifty miles to work. He provides his own transportation. When his tires wear out, he has little hope of obtaining replacements. His wages are lower than the wages paid in most war industry, even lower than the average for mining. He lives in a miserable shack, for which he pays exorbitant rent. His children lack schooling. His family is without proper medical care. He must buy his food and supplies at the company store—where prices are far steeper than in the chain stores of the larger towns. A trip to the movies means an excursion of at least 100 miles to the nearest town—and his tires are wearing thin. Working conditions at the mine are extremely bad, even dangerous. Inadequate ventilation, dust, dampness, inefficient methods still used by the company make work arduous and hard on the miner's health. In addition to all this, the miner who is known as a good union man, or who happens to be born a Mexican, is excluded from skilled jobs—if he is lucky enough to have a job at all.

To this forsaken community comes the news of boom times in the war production centers. There jobs can be had for the asking, jobs at salaries that allow men to meet the high cost of living. In Los Angeles or Seattle or Oakland transportation is no insurmountable problem plaguing the worker. A man and his family can even rent a decent house, with running water and proper sanitary conditions. Children can go to school; on a rest day the family can see a movie or sit in the park. Discrimination because of union activity is not so prevalent. Working conditions are far less hazardous. And the zinc miner asks himself why he should work at low wages in a hazardous mine when he can move to a larger community and contribute just as surely to the war effort. So he piles his belongings into the jalopy and waves goodbye to the camp. His neighbors follow his lead. And those who remain behind take alarm as the mine curtails operations because of labor shortage; fearing eventual shutdown, more and more of the zinc miners begin the trek to better jobs, to a life not so dreary and so dangerous. The result of this migration is to reduce the output of zinc, imperative to the war effort.

This illustration is by no means an exception. Throughout the United States workers move on to more attractive employment; raw material output lags though production schedules call for ever-increasing supplies. Instead of acknowledging the causes of this out-migration, Washington allows vague and threatening rumors to spread, rumors of job freezing, labor drafts. The moment a rumor of this sort reaches the sub-standard industries (and rumors travel fast), the migration accelerates. No man wants to be "frozen" into a low-paying, hazardous job when he can get better wages and better conditions farther on.

COMPULSION, as the Tolan committee stresses, is considered a cure only by officials who fail to comprehend the magnitude of their task in overcoming labor shortages. It would be far more efficient to rectify abuses—the conditions in the New Mexican zinc mine only highlight maladjustments obtaining in other mining communities and other industries. As the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' memorandum points out, "The upward wage adjustments needed to make inroads on this problem are very substantial, far more substantial than the government and management have been considering in other basic industries. But evasion of responsibility, resort to half measures, will not solve this critical problem." Encouragingly, the WPB has just recognized—according to a recent statement—the need of raising wages in the non-ferrous mines.

Wages are only one facet. The elimination of poor working conditions, of job hazards, cannot be postponed. Not only does

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the removal of abuses tend to hold workers to their jobs, cutting down migration and shifts in labor supply, but likewise increases production efficiency and augments the flow of vital materials.

In addition transportation difficulties can be solved by providing buses to and from mines or plants. Workers have the right to demand needed housing and other services which they can obtain in the larger centers. Finally, threats of compulsion and discrimination hardly improve morale. Negroes are still the most abused section of the population in this respect, though Mexicans suffer almost as much. In many localities, prejudice against Jews or union members or even Catholics impedes the war effort and endangers the nation's security.

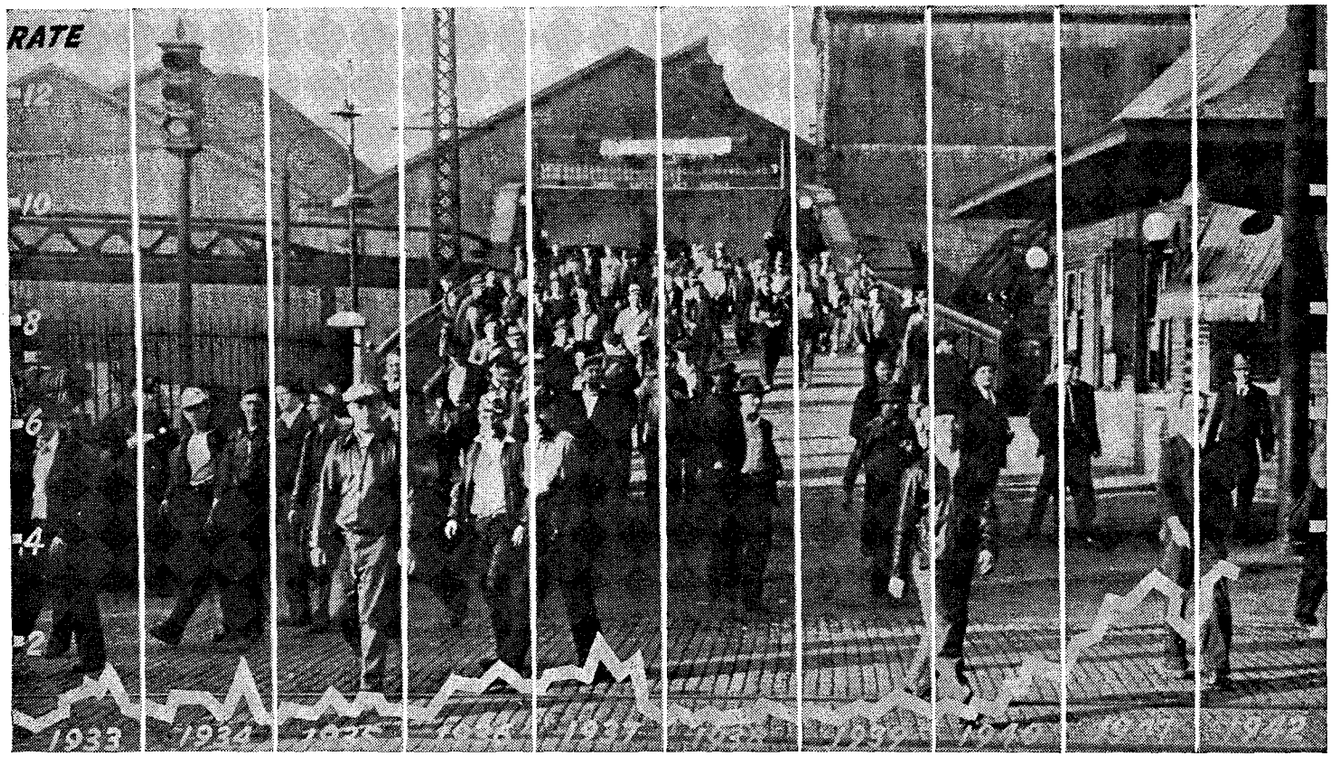
THE solution to manpower dislocations, the Tolan committee emphasizes, is part and parcel of the production problem: "The more pressure there is for compulsion of workers under existing circumstances, the more likely it will be that our production program is faltering. . . ." Quite simply, schedules of output must be related to the available labor supply. According to testimony taken by the Tolan committee, we will require next year, in addition to the needs of our army, 11,000,000 additional workers in war industry as well as an increase of 2,500,000 farm workers at the peak of the season. This enormous demand for manpower can only be satisfied by the most painstaking planning, certainly not if the problem is approached in the present haphazard manner. Nor can the requirements be met unless those in charge of directing manpower supply are allowed to cooperate and coordinate their activities with the departments in charge of production.

This relationship between manpower and production is still to be established. Workers in certain war occupations and critical industries will have to be deferred from selective service in order not to disrupt production. Moreover, we can no longer delay training programs for the unemployed and for those in occupations curtailed because of the war emergency. Women as well as men, Negroes as well as white, the foreign-born and the youth must be included in this training for war work. But successful training also demands other adjustments: workers are unwilling, for example, to spend six weeks preparing themselves for a job paying sixty cents an hour when they can make more at jobs which require no previous experience or skill.

The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' memorandum stresses the fact that the unions themselves can play a decisive role in preventing dislocations. Labor-management committees have offered plans to increase efficiency of operation and output per man shift, intensifying the utilization of each man on the job. These joint committees have already made progress in obtaining agreements between factories not to poach on each other's labor preserves. In cooperation with the unions, management and government can readily narrow the causes of manpower shortages. The unions, naturally, should be given a full voice in determining policies.

The test of our production is the degree to which we utilize labor. The Tolan committee adds that the nation cannot permit manpower or materials "to be seriously limiting factors in the face of the job to be done." Already production is sufficient to supply a European land front in force, and to maintain this second front. But we dare not sanction lags or the prospect of any diminution of effort for any reason whatsoever. Too long has the war effort suffered from a tendency to ignore the magnitude of the present struggle. There must be an immediate end to the situation decried by the Tolan committee, which affirms that "nowhere is there apparent on the part of our production officials adequate realization that victory over the Axis is at stake."

The Tolan committee has again anticipated the needs of the war effort. Its fifth interim report can well become the basis of a realistic manpower policy—just as the committee's earlier reports helped push war production to present levels and helped expose attitudes of business-as-usual. Serious as are the problems raised by both the Tolan committee and the MMSW, the fact that shortcomings in our manpower policy are discussed and failures frankly publicized provides the basis for increased public agitation to improve the war effort, and to enhance the striking power of our country and the United Nations.



LABOR MIGRATES FROM UNSATISFACTORY JOBS. More men quit jobs this year, particularly in basic war industries like mining, than any time since 1933. February figures—the latest issued—show a rise of 2.41 jobs quit per 100 workers, an increase from 1.33 the previous year. There has been no improvement to date.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY IN THE BANK

An economist takes issue with a recent New Masses article on inflation. What shall be done with the increase in voluntary savings? The President's program.

IN a recent issue of NEW MASSES (July 28) Ralph Hartwell's article "How High Is Inflation?" provided many valuable insights into our present problem. Nevertheless I feel that there is a certain one-sidedness in the author's approach which may possibly lead to serious errors.

One of Hartwell's essential arguments may be restated as follows: By means of the connected triple policy of limiting consumer goods production, of rationing scarce goods, and of price fixing all consumer goods and services, a large share of consumer income, perhaps the major part of the excess income constituting the so-called inflationary gap, can be effectively sterilized. The excess consumer income which cannot be spent will more or less automatically be saved and its inflationary effect thus destroyed.

Hartwell's argument gains plausibility when we consider that many economists have been guilty of a rather mechanical understanding of the nature of the excess purchasing power which creates the inflationary gap. They have assumed that such purchasing power will be exerted as a *continuously* forceful demand which, if it cannot have its effect in price rises, will express itself in a deterioration of quality of price-fixed goods, in exhaustion of stocks and reserves, in illegal trading, i.e., black markets, in vastly multiplied administrative difficulties of the price control and rationing program and in other non-price phenomena of an inflationary kind.

These economists are in part confounded and Hartwell's approach in part justified by recent trends in the retail trades. In spite of the prediction of a large inflationary gap, and therefore presumably of a brisk demand for goods, the physical volume of retail trade has been falling in recent months. Demand has actually been below supply, and department stores reported inventories at the end of May 1942 which were seventy percent higher than a year ago. (National City Bank Economic Letter, July 1942.)

WHAT has happened to the excess purchasing power that was supposed to be ready to burst the boilers? It appears to have disappeared in the form of a substantial increase in savings. This is shown in the table in Hartwell's article reproduced from Labor Research Association's *Economic Notes* for July 1942.

This increase in savings requires careful analysis. Savings take many forms. First there are savings of a compulsory or semi-compulsory type. Among these are contractual repayment of debt (such as amortization of mortgages and instalment payments on consumer credit and loans), war bond purchases under pay-roll deduction plans, and life insurance premium payments. On the other hand, there are savings of a purely voluntary and therefore essentially unstable type. Among these are currency hoarding, savings in bank deposit form, repayment of non-contractual debt, and purely voluntary purchases of war bonds.

There is no question but that it is the voluntary forms of savings which are showing the big increases. In the semi-compulsory forms, only pay-roll deduction war bond purchases have increased and this may be offset by decreases in consumer credit payments as indebtedness runs out on the big volume of consumer durable goods purchased in 1940 and 1941 on the instalment plan.

There are two contradictory yet related reasons why potential inflationary demand has in recent months been largely converted into the quiescent form of an increase in voluntary savings. The first is that most people have confidence in the President's seven-point anti-inflationary program and particularly in the price ceilings. They want to cooperate with the program. The rush to buy goods which characterized the preceding rising price market has halted. Most people are refraining from non-essential buying and many are going without things they need even though they have the money to buy. On the other hand, people are uncertain and fearful of the future. They are trying to accumulate some funds in liquid form. Many war workers regard their increases in earnings as windfall gains which properly should be set aside as an emergency fund.

Nothing is more likely suddenly to transform the relatively large fund of latent purchasing power—which has hitherto been converted into certain forms of savings—into an irresistible inflationary pressure than a loss of confidence by the people in the effectiveness of the President's seven-point program. Therefore it is all the more urgent for the labor and progressive movement to take steps to support this program. Furthermore, we have the responsibility of urging that the program be implemented to remedy certain of its weaknesses.

Hartwell points out in his article that the price control program has already been endangered by the destructive work of the farm bloc, by the puncturing of the price ceilings on canned and dried fruits, gasoline, and by the granting of permission to lower the quality of women's and children's apparel. These dangerous phenomena are the result of the terrific pressure brought to bear by certain organized business interests on the government. But what we must realize is that one of the main stimuli of this pressure is the conviction on the part of these business interests that they can dispose of their

Danger Signals

THERE are danger signals on the anti-inflation front. Between June 15 and July 15 uncontrolled food prices rose 2.5 percent. This was on top of a 4.8 percent increase the previous month. Price Administrator Henderson warns that "If the June 15-July 15 rate of increase of 2.5 percent were projected over a year—and this is anything but a fanciful projection—we would be paying an average of 30 percent more for many important foodstuffs twelve months hence." In this situation the announcement by Secretary of Agriculture Wickard that he has agreed to the setting of ceiling prices on livestock and that he now favors repeal of the provision permitting farm prices to rise to 110 percent of parity offers hope of some relief. A drive to crack the opposition of the so-called farm bloc in Congress is in order.

This highlights the broader problem of combating the inflationary danger. The articles by James Roland on this page and by Ralph Hartwell in our July 28 issue, as well as two earlier articles by A. B. Magil, indicate an approach based on the *active implementation of the President's* seven-point program. These writers differ sharply from the "inflationary gap" theorists who, instead of a rounded program such as the President proposes, try to frighten the public into accepting such one-sided and vicious devices as a sales tax and the freezing of wages. The dire predictions of newspapers like the New York *Times* that a relentless tide of $17,000,000,000 in excess purchasing power will beat down the price ceilings is further refuted in a recent survey by the Department of Labor. This survey shows that the average income of city dwellers in the first quarter of 1942 rose seven percent over the corresponding period of last year, but "average expenses of current consumption" increased only two percent, while the cost of living advanced eight percent. There was also an increase of about seventy percent in savings.

The Department of Labor survey also tends to cast doubt on Mr. Roland's unqualified advocacy of compulsory savings. Perhaps this will ultimately prove necessary, but there is as yet no evidence that it is. We also believe he errs in thinking that compulsory savings have played any great role in keeping English living costs down. The forced savings system in England is of a very limited character and was introduced as a means of sugar-coating an increase in taxes.

There is every evidence that the public is cooperating in preventing the bidding up of prices. What is needed is for Congress to cooperate by passing the President's seven-point program, which is an essential war measure.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

goods in the consumer markets at higher prices. They know that the purchasing power is there even though at the moment it is not expressing itself as active demand. Such business pressure to crack the price ceilings is bound to intensify ten-fold if signs appear of an activization of latent purchasing power.

Hartwell makes, it seems to me, the error of juxtaposing the "inflationary gap" theory against the "price control and rationing" theory as ways of combating inflation. He cites British experience as proving that the introduction of price control and rationing stabilized the cost of living after the monetary or "inflationary gap" approach had failed. But the fact is that together with price control and rationing, the British government introduced higher taxes and a system of compulsory savings. Thus it was not one or the other approach which did the trick in Britain but both taken together.

Reactionary forces in the United States are proposing sales and other forms of regressive taxes, wage freezing, cuts in social welfare programs, and various oppressive types of compulsory savings as their solution of the inflationary problem. The progressive forces, it also seems to me, are on the other hand weakened in their fight against the reactionaries by the one-sided approach characteristic of the Hartwell article which depreciates the importance of the inflationary gap or monetary income factor.

IN MY opinion the President's seven-point program will go part of the way toward closing the inflationary gap, but to be completely effective it will have to be implemented by the establishment of a democratically administered progressive system of compulsory savings. The term "compulsory savings" is naturally in bad repute in progressive circles because of its association with reactionary proposals. The plan that I have in mind has nothing in common with such proposals.

I believe that a system of compulsory savings should first of all provide for adequate exemptions for the lower income groups. There should be allowances or credits for dependents, for tax payments, and for existing regular savings such as repayment of contractual debt, life insurance premiums, and war bonds purchased under pay-roll deduction plans or under wage agreements providing wage increases in the form of war bonds.

The compulsory savings rates should not be fixed by legislation, but should be flexible with the power to fix and vary rates vested in a national administrative board in which labor and other sections of the people would have adequate representation. Other flexible features could be a geographic differential in rates to compensate for geographic variation in costs of living and provision for emergency withdrawals by individuals, for example, to meet hospital and medical expenses and the like. Local administration could be conducted by local boards in which again labor and the people would have representation. Perhaps an expansion of the OPA administration to include such representation would be satisfactory.

Some of the advantages of the proposed system may be noted: (1) A continuous and flexible control of inflationary forces would be achieved by a democratic administration. (2) The previously substandard labor groups who have achieved substantial wage gains in the war period would not be robbed of these gains by regressive taxation. (3) The way would be paved for non-inflationary increases in wages, particularly if such increases are paid in the form of war bonds and the amount of the increase is excluded from workers' income for the purpose of determining the amount of compulsory savings.

I do not, of course, propose this scheme as a panacea for all inflation ills. It is obviously a matter for discussion, and obviously the President's program is first and foremost and we must get behind it with all our power. Nevertheless we must not close our eyes to its limitations and we must actively prepare for further implementation of the program along progressive lines.

JAMES ROLAND.

The Teachers Meet *An editorial*

PURELY from a journalistic standpoint, it is difficult to see why the American Federation of Teachers convention in Gary, Ind., last week, did not get a bigger play in the press. It was a colorful, although serious meeting, and the results have a very definite pertinence to today's headlines. Surely it means much to the winning of this war that an organized group of teachers, with a membership of 23,000, has not only declared itself unanimously for a second front, but has worked out a program for reorienting education to the demand for as speedy a victory as possible. And surely it is news—good news—that these leaders in the teaching profession concern themselves with the democratic life of America—and, indeed, of the world—by urging political action to eliminate congressional defeatists and obstructionists in the coming elections; by calling for a Pacific charter, with especial reference to India's freedom; emphasizing the importance of international solidarity; and urging an extension of AFL-CIO unity behind the war program and a successful conclusion to the unity negotiations now going on between the two great bodies of organized labor. In a whack at Jim Crow, the convention unanimously called for a mixed regiment of Negro and white soldiers and officers. It also asked President Roosevelt to increase the effectiveness of his Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The delegates were extremely conscious of the gravity of educational problems as they related to the war effort. After the panel discussion of a war program offered to the convention, there was a lively debate on the floor which resulted in the program's being sent to the educational policies commission for strengthening. An inspirational as well as a practical note was brought into the discussions by Evan Davies, representing the Association of Education Committees of England, who told the convention how British teachers had put aside the old "three R's" routine of education for unprecedented tasks in maintaining morale under wartime conditions.

One of the most notable successes of the convention was the unity achieved. So far from considering this news, sections of the press attempted to inject "Red" issues into the meeting and to make it appear that the proposed resolutions for a second front were indications of a "left wing plot." Unanimous agreement on the second front refuted that falsehood. And following the lead of Dr. George S. Counts, retiring president of the AFT, Executive Council members took the floor to dispel any press-created impression of division. There was no fight around the election of officers; all but one candidate were unopposed and the newly elected president, John Fewkes, underlined the necessity of unity, not only national and inter-Allied unity but "within the AFT."

Here was a recognition of the deep relationship that exists today between the desires and efforts of the American people as a whole and the desires and efforts of the groups in which those people are represented. It is significant that five former vice-presidents of the AFT who had earned a reputation as disrupters were not chosen to sit on the new council—and particularly significant that a Norman Thomas follower was eliminated. We hope that Mr. Fewkes will translate into action his utterances on unity by taking steps to readmit into the AFT the three outstandingly anti-fascist locals in New York and Philadelphia which were expelled in early 1941 as a result of the Coudert committee's Red-baiting raid.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors

BARBARA GILES JOSEPH NORTH *Washington Editor* BRUCE MINTON
A. B. MAGIL JOSEPH STAROBIN *Business Manager* CARL BRISTEL
RUTH McKENNEY JOHN STUART *Promotion and Circulation* HERBERT GOLDFRANK

Stalingrad and the Second Front

THE decisive battle for Stalingrad enters its second week, as these lines are read. Everything in the news points to the truth that while the Soviet forces are exerting themselves to the very utmost, the advantage of men, materiel, concentration of forces, and initiative still lies with Hitler. We are clearly faced with the most critical moment of the whole year. The Nazis are trying to cut their way through to the Volga, cripple the centers of Soviet industry, and cut off the oil supply, at the same time taking up positions in the western Caucasus from which to batter their way into the Middle East. The British have evidently recognized how immediate is the threat to Iraq and Iran by appointing a separate command for that area under General Henry Maitland Wilson; at the same time London dispatches admit that General Rommel has been reinforced in Libya and is preparing a deeper thrust into Egypt for Suez.

In the first phase of the summer's fighting, there was no second front: as a result the Germans got into Egypt and into the western Caucasus. Now the second phase of the year's fighting is under way, what might be called the campaign for the Volga and the Nile deltas. Will there be a second front in time to avert disaster? is the question in everyone's mind. In this week's NM Michael Foot, editor of the London *Evening Standard,* summarizes how the British people feel as Churchill returns from his Moscow visit; Claude Cockburn emphasizes the critical mood in London, the acute political crisis that must follow if the lessons of Dieppe are not going to be applied; and Colonel T., in his analysis of the Dieppe raid, proves conclusively that the second front is possible, that we already have the striking power to open it.

In an important dispatch from Moscow on August 24, Leland Stowe, correspondent of the Chicago *Daily News* and New York *Post,* gives us a sense of how crucially the Soviets view the next thirty days. Either a second front *now,* or a terribly long drawn-out struggle, with absolutely no guarantees of victory; either a second front *now,* or we face the reorganized and recuperated might of the Reichswehr in western Europe next spring, making a second front even then a much riskier affair than it is today. Either a second front *now*—in coalition with our chief allies—or else a weakening of all coalition forces, as the Nazis succeed in crippling the offensive power of each of the United Nations, one by one.

We face the grimmest, most serious moment of the whole struggle. Dieppe was proof that it could be done; Dieppe was also an acknowledgment that the voice of the millions who insisted all summer that it could be done, had to be heeded: that voice must be raised again, sharply, more urgently, more insistently than before.

How Long?

WHILE the world awaits the realization of the lessons learned at Dieppe, and expects a full-fledged second front as a result of the Churchill conference in Moscow, there's one little aspect of Mr. Churchill's trip that can't be forgotten. It is the fact that the Nazis knew about it, announced it, and advertised it some ten days before the confirmation came from London and Moscow. Raymond Daniell in the New York *Times* two weeks ago noted the point, and suggested that evidently German agents were still functioning in London and Washington. That may be true, agents both German and native may still retain contact with Berlin; be that as it may, the chances are that information of this sort has been leaking through embassies in neutral countries—or else, from the Vichy, Finnish, and Spanish embassies that still function here. Vichy is supposed to be in bad grace with our State Department; at the moment we have no ambassador in France, and that is supposed to be the measure of our relations. But the fact remains that Hitler's agents are still in their embassies in the capital of our own country—French, Spanish, and Finnish agents of the enemy. How long, brethren, how long?

Get Tough, Mr. Nelson

WE THINK it too bad that Donald Nelson had not investigated Frederick Libbey's charges, or in fact even read them, when the engineering consultant was dismissed from the WPB. Nelson did know, however, that Libbey's report sharply criticized the policies and personnel of the WPB's Iron and Steel Branch, in particular its domination by dollar-a-year salesmen from the steel industry. Before the report was quite completed, Mr. Libbey's head rolled with the excuse given that he had "leaked" the contents of his report to the Washington *Post.*

This is the second time within recent months that the WPB has lost a member who opposed the practices of certain dollar-a-year men—Robert Guthrie was the first to go, when he resigned in protest against the anti-conversion obstinacy of some representatives of the textile industry. Now it is hardly a secret that there are dollar-a-year men in Washington who oppose conversion, oppose measures to avoid shortages of vital materials, in fact oppose anything that might interfere with their industries' soaring profits during or after the war. It is obvious that a WPB chief's duty is not to protect these individuals and punish their critics. His first duty is to investigate every charge concerning maladministration and selfishness that interfere with a steady stream of materials. Libbey's report, made after four months of study, confirms much of what has already been brought out by the Truman committee's investigation. Its factual data on bottlenecks in the steel industry confirm the findings of the United Steel Workers Union. Surely such a report, on so vital a war industry as steel, at least deserves careful attention.

At this writing, representatives of eighteen unions are meeting with Mr. Nelson and it is certain that not only the Libbey dismissal but the whole question of production and WPB policy is being vigorously discussed. Many of the unions represented at the conference have themselves authored excellent reports and recommendations for increasing production efficiency. Very little has been done with them by the WPB. If the dollar-a-year men who are obstructing things were replaced by representatives from the unions, Mr. Nelson would have less worries about criticism of the board he heads. Much more important, this country would have far fewer headaches than it has now about the crisis in production. We look forward to your getting tough, Mr. Nelson.

The Harlem Frame-up

FOR some weeks now the New York commercial press has been publishing lurid stories purporting to show a wave of crime and violence in Harlem. Anybody with the slightest experience in race relations approaches such accounts with a skeptical eye: Scottsboro taught America a lot. Suspicion of such stories is confirmed by the developments in the case of the eight Negro youths—all under 20—charged with rape and robbery and facing possible death sentences or terms of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life imprisonment. This case was so presented, particularly in the New York *Daily News,* as to leave an unwary reader with the impression that these boys were indubitably guilty. They were tried and condemned in the columns of that paper. Now it turns out that these were not the boys at all. One of the complainants, Charles Coleman, blasted the whole business sky-high when he declared, "I have not been able to identify anyone as having taken part in the incident." He explained that "the night was a very dark one and I couldn't make out any faces." Obviously the police had attempted to frame the youths in the worst of Scottsboro tradition.

A protest meeting held in Harlem revealed that the boys were atrociously beaten in the police station. It is to the great credit of the *Daily Worker* that all the above facts were unearthed by its Harlem reporter, Abner W. Berry. It is to the discredit of the rest of the press that these facts have not been presented to right the dangerous wrong that has been committed. As a matter of fact, the press campaign has become exceedingly dangerous. Evil and wrong in peacetime, such irresponsible journalism is more than doubly harmful when we are at war and need the full harmony of all sectors of our people. The situation is so perilous that all citizens of New York must demand the immediate cessation of discrimination against our fellow-citizens in Harlem, as in the rest of the country. NEW MASSES plans to deal with this subject in great detail in forthcoming issues; we feel that callousness to it does great harm to one-tenth of our population, makes a mockery of our avowed four freedoms, and plays into the hands of Axis propagandists among the colonial peoples.

Shortages and Rationing

RESIDENTS of New York are undergoing an experience with shortages, prices, and rents that teaches some lessons which may well be applicable throughout the country. Take first the rent and the fuel-oil problems, which are related. They are also acute, with October moving day just a few weeks off. When it was first announced that the Atlantic states would be short on fuel oil this winter, due to transportation difficulties, citizens were urged to convert their oil furnaces to coal burners. It was an eminently sensible recommendation, but only a recommendation—owners of apartment houses were not forced to undertake the conversion. Then Mayor LaGuardia announced that *all* houses, whether heated by coal or oil, would come under a hot-water rationing system. And the system, as tentatively outlined, would provide warm baths at certain hours only—with no provision for night workers. The mayor's latest announcement is that if there is to be any rationing, it will come from Washington.

All of this is very confusing and certainly not conducive to the best morale. People who stand ready to make any necessary sacrifice for victory, still like a little logic in the measures undertaken. Moreover, they like democratic administration of such measures. Under the mayor's original plan, the hot-water rationing would have been administered entirely by real estate men. There were no representatives of tenants' leagues or of trade unions; and no provision was being made to subtract the additional cost of heating one's own water from the rent—although the landlord stood to profit since he would furnish less heat. Rents are being hiked as it is, with the war as an excuse, although New York is not regarded as a "defense area" and so the rent ceilings are not enforced here.

There are intelligent, fair ways of dealing with such situations arising out of war conditions; and there are intelligent, unselfish people to deal with them. These individuals, who have had experience in groups like trade unions and consumer organizations, know intimately the problems involved in maintaining living standards. They can be trusted to act for the good of the majority. It is imperative that the services of such people be utilized.

Our Ally, Brazil

BRAZIL'S declaration of war against Germany and Italy is an important victory for the United Nations, an event which is bound to have vast and continuing political and strategic consequences. Political implications are of two kinds: first, the fact that this largest and richest of the South American republics, with a population of 47,000,000, larger than any American republic except our own, has entered the war, will react favorably throughout the hemisphere. Argentina's isolation in neutrality will be more difficult to sustain; Chile, where trends are away from neutrality, will be encouraged. So will Venezuela and Colombia, which have broken relations with the Axis but not yet declared war.

Second, there are bound to be important, liberating influences within Brazil itself, and these in turn will be felt elsewhere. President Vargas' action was taken against a background of intense popular feeling, whipped to a fever pitch by the recent sinking of six ships in Brazilian waters, one of them a transport on which 157 Brazilian naval men were lost. People have been demonstrating in the streets of Rio, as at no time since the days of 1930 and 1935. In July Vargas removed the notorious police chief Felhinto Muller, and has begun to clean up the open fascists in his administration and armed forces. Much more of this is now bound to take place, with a corresponding improvement of the domestic atmosphere. The liberation of Luis Carlos Prestes, who from his prison cell is giving active support to the fight against the Axis, would be an important step toward strengthening the unity of the Brazilian people for all-out war.

Strategically, Brazil's importance lies in the fact that it forms a vital hinge in the gateway of the south Atlantic. From its "bulge" at Para and Belem, our air ferry has been hopping across to West Africa. Here is a point of the hemisphere which is at once most vulnerable to attack, but also forms an excellent point of departure for United Nations operations into western and northern Africa. Brazil's armed forces are small, relative to her size; building them rapidly—which now becomes essential—will strain Brazilian and our own resources. But Brazil does have some 300,000 tons of shipping, and she is a treasure-house of strategic raw materials which must now be developed at a greatly accelerated pace for her own, and our own, production program.

There are bound to be many internal problems, most of them connected with a clean-up of fascist espionage, which finds a considerable base in the 500,000 German-born colonists of Rio Grande do Sul, the important southeastern province. Warfare along the coast is bound to be intensified, and repelling a submarine blockade of Brazil's waterways will tax her resources. But all this is overweighed by the cardinal fact that a great and potentially powerful nation has been brought into the concert of anti-Axis nations. It is a long step in the direction of ending Latin America's subsidiary role in world affairs; in fact, to realize her potential fully, Brazil must be accepted as not just another Allied nation, but a full and vital partner. It puts a crimp in the plans of the Spanish Falange, and will have its repercussions in Spain, and most important of all, in Portugal and the Azores Islands. The war is also bound to accelerate the growth of native, large scale Brazilian basic industry, and advance the development of Brazil's sovereignty and industrial independence. Finally, Brazil's entrance into the war means that one of the smaller—though important—powers, at a critical moment in the war's fortunes, has indicated that it doesn't believe the fascists are going to win, and is pitching in to prevent them from winning.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and PEOPLE by SAMUEL SILLEN

WANDERER IN THE WILDERNESS

Blurs and blotches in a hackneyed portrait of the literary twenties and thirties. A critic whose vision runs to the tip of his nose.

NOT even the belabored brightness of his style can shield Maxwell Geismar's confusion in *Writers in Crisis* (Houghton, Mifflin, $3). Mr. Geismar, an instructor at Sarah Lawrence College, has attempted "a study of the changing beliefs of the contemporary American novelist in our period of social crisis." He has chosen six figures to illustrate the directions and conflicts of American fiction between two wars: Lardner, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Wolfe, and Steinbeck. His thesis is simple. In the twenties, "the Lardnerian epoch," our writers were spiritually frustrated; in the midst of prosperity, they suffered from a poverty of values; their work reveals a pattern of negation. The thirties, by contrast, brought writers a "spiritual positive," a new courage, faith, responsibility; economic collapse regenerated social values and the affirmative temper. This thesis, in broad outline, leaves little room for quarrel. Indeed, as Mr. Geismar himself reminds us, "By now, in fact, the moral of our story has become a cliche. . . ." The confusion of his book is to be found not in its major formulation but in the author's effort to support, clarify, and enrich the over-all "cliche."

Why did so few writers of the twenties move in the affirmative, socially conscious direction of the thirties? What accounts for the shift in the literary temper of the two decades? This is the central problem of his book, and Mr. Geismar fails to answer it with anything but endless restatement of the thesis that such a change did take place. The contradictions in his own judgments are the inevitable penalty of his evasion.

The picture of American literature, as of American life, during the past two decades is actually far more complex than has been generally appreciated. These were indeed the fat years and the lean, but they cannot be treated as unified wholes in abstract opposition. One must observe the subtle processes of growth and decay. One must be conscious, at each specific moment, of the changing relationship of social forces. For the paralysis of 1929 was not a mysterious visitation; the germs were present in the social organism throughout the twenties. It was, in one sense, a boom age and a jazz age; but it was also an age in which new wars were maturing; reaction was riding high; the suffering of large masses of our people, the farming population, the Negro people, sections of the industrial workers, was just as real, even if not as acute and widespread, as during the depression years. And if anyone doubts that there was a vigorous opposition to the dominant beliefs of the expatriates, cynics, and esthetic nihilists, let him read the back numbers of NEW MASSES, where the fire was always lively even if the aim was occasionally wild.

THE stock market crash may be used, though it has perhaps by now been overused, as a symbol of the transition; but it is not of itself the decisive phenomenon of the time. The determining feature of the shift is to be found in the social struggles which grew in consciousness and intensity with the deepening of the crisis. It is to be found in the changed position of the working class in relation to other forces in society. The thirties witnessed a remarkable growth in the power, cohesiveness, and understanding of the labor movement. In the earlier decade only a small number of writers could follow its faltering leadership. In the thirties the labor movement communicated its energy, its democratic outlook, its realism to ever increasing numbers of writers.

Most writers, in both decades, were of the middle classes. In the first decade they became alienated from their own social background, sensing the uncreative position into which they had been thrust and reviling it as philistinism, puritanism, commercialism, and whatnot. But at the same time they made no contact with more creative forces, preferring to nurse their grievances, many of which were just, in an isolated no-man's land which was the natural breeding ground of pessimism, vacillation, neurosis. They could see only two alternatives. One was to conform to a way of life which they could not deeply respect; the other was to forsake society and to fashion works of art out of their own frustrations.

The precarious position of these writers, and the middle classes of which they remained essentially a part, was destroyed by the economic collapse; and now any genuine creative life was possible only through an extension of social sympathy. The ego was an insufficient dyke against the onrush of reality. If a third alternative, alliance with the most progressive forces, now became an economic necessity for many writers, it became for even more writers an artistic necessity. The failure of Sinclair Lewis to keep pace with the new social tides was virtually his collapse as a first rate novelist. Sherwood Anderson made the effort, but his inability to integrate his past with his new consciousness left his novels of the thirties hopelessly divided against themselves. For a younger writer like Steinbeck, a sense of identification with the masses brought a maturing of his art that was hardly conceivable in the twenties.

The social issues of the thirties, life itself, taught the need for a principle of conscious organization of progress, the need for a scientific and all-embracing view of history, the need for a theory that would integrate artistic and social effort. The influence of Marxism on our writers has not, therefore, been an inspired accident. To dismiss Marxism and the Soviet Union in the cavalier, not to say *jejeune,* manner of Mr. Geismar is to distort the decade beyond recognition. One can respect a criticism which takes forthright issue with Marxism. It is more difficult to respect banalities in the form of side-swipes.

MR. GEISMAR'S point of view, he tells us, is democratic; but he frequently reveals his distrust of the masses. He wants "a new democratic mythos," but no "submergence in the masses." The "mob," he admits, has its vitalizing effect upon the writer "as well as its corrosions of his judgment." What we need, he says with characteristic precision, is "balance" and not "a blind and rigid social belief of any sort." We must revise the human temperament, for "We compete, not against brutal necessity, but our own brute instincts." Armed with insights derived from "the acute

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theorist Trotsky," he ventures the acute historical observation that "it is not inconceivable that in the end the United States will bring about its great sweeping social changes as a new sort of popular fashion."

Mr. Geismar's all-exploring eclecticism, his inability to press an idea further than its formal statement, is reflected in various ways. At one moment he tells us that Dos Passos is the "embodiment of the conscious and progressive forces." And, in virtually the same breath, "there seems very often in Dos Passos an underlying doubt, not merely as to the social solutions he is seeking, but in the efficacy of any solution—a doubt in the efficacy, that is to say, of human life itself." Well, what sort of an embodiment of progress is this anyway? The answer that Dos Passos is suffering from "fatigue" is hardly satisfying, and Mr. Geismar's assurance that this fatigue "can only be temporary" is hardly convincing on the face of it. The fact is that Dos Passos' *Adventures of a Young Man,* which Mr. Geismar properly calls an artistic failure, is not the product of fatigue but of an unusually energetic hate. In directing his anger not against Franco but the American anti-fascists in Spain, Dos Passos was attacking the genuine "embodiment of the conscious and progressive forces." In doubting the efficacy of human life itself, is not the Dos Passos of *The Big Money* and *Adventures of a Young Man* a reversion to a type that belongs anywhere but in Mr. Geismar's thirties?

By contrast, the critic arrives at the opinion, which is at least original, that *The Grapes of Wrath* is "not at all Steinbeck's best novel." He sees in it theatrics, distortions, sentimentality; in weaving his "fantasies," Steinbeck makes the Joads "emerge as idealized in their own way as those smooth personages who dwell everlastingly in the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post.*" In short, when Mr. Geismar comes to the novel that perhaps best expresses the affirmative social realism of the thirties, he starts to go "twentyish" on us. And then, almost as if he were determined to take literally his edict that the writer is "indeed better off with too little intelligence than too much," he begins making wisecracks, analysis having failed, about the Rover Boys in Moscow, devout comrades, and that sort of thing. Calling the realism of *In Dubious Battle* superior to that of *The Grapes of Wrath* is the final blow.

In the essay on Hemingway there is a miracle of characterization that transcends all others. Mr. Geismar describes Maria of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as "a sort of compendium of the virtues of the modern proletarian mistress. She emerges to the heights of romance from the depths of the class struggle." Mr. Geismar has evidently not read Mike Gold's animadversions on the subject. I think that next to the stupid chapter on Marty, nothing in Hemingway's book got Mike quite so sore as the portrait of Jordan's supine sleeping-bag companion who turned out to be a curious projection of Jordan's dreams of the Garbo. The contradictory essay on Hemingway illustrates Mr. Geismar's thesis that "the writer must go on losing and saving his soul; he must conduct, as it were, a perpetual juggling match with mortality."

It is to be hoped that in later editions Richard Jordan will be changed to Robert Jordan on page 80, and that Heyward Broun will become Heywood Broun on page 267. And it may be noted, in conclusion, that the "road to Leningrad" of which the author speaks so fliply is today packed with a lot of dead Nazis who will never bother making hit-and-run raids on our shores.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Brazil's Sixteen Million

NEGROES IN BRAZIL, *by Donald Pierson. University of Chicago Press. $4.50.*

THERE are few wholly satisfying books in English on Latin America. This is something that the English language reader needs always to bear in mind. However familiar a student or writer may be with Latin American peoples, however sympathetic his approach, however painstaking his methods of investigation, he still inevitably carries over with him his own world of concepts, judgments, and prejudices. If he is a reactionary at home, he will be a reactionary in Latin America, and vice versa, and an academic ("sociological") objectivity cannot conceal this fact; one does not of a sudden become "objective" by moving south of the Rio Grande.

Accordingly, in selecting one's reading matter on Latin America, one can only take the fare that is offered and make the best of it, by a critical use of statistics, factual data, and even—always exercising one's critical sense—the human insights that are afforded. Dr. Donald Pierson's study of the Brazilian, or more accurately, the Bahian Negro may be recommended. The book has certain grave errors of interpretation, in which the author exhibits at times a reactionary view of things (although this is probably due in his case not so much to an inveterate bias as it is to a muddled half-thinking-through of problems). Nevertheless, this volume does assemble much detailed information on a most important subject, and gives a vivid general picture of a social world that will seem very strange to many of us.

This work, indeed, and the one by the great Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil,* constitute practically the sole literature on the subject in English. Dr. Pierson is a graduate field student in sociology, who has spent a number of years studying race relations in the Brazilian port town of Bahia—an excellent *locus,* incidentally, for such researches. His work is less authoritative and comprehensive than Ramos'. The latter book, however, has remained practically unknown. Dr. Pierson's work may possibly reach a somewhat larger number of readers; it is perhaps better adapted in some ways to the purposes of a popular introduction. This makes it necessary to examine it very critically, particularly since it is bound to fall into the hands of many college students.

Many North Americans are astonished to learn that 16,000,000 out of Brazil's 43,000,000 inhabitants are what is known as "full-blooded" Negroes, while a high percentage of "Negro blood" (it is out of necessity that one employs these conventional but invidious-sounding terms) is to be found in the remainder of the population; so that Brazil has sometimes been called "the largest Negro nation." And few of us who do know of the South American Negro have any conception of the absolutely different world of race relationships that exists in a country such as Brazil, for example, as contrasted with our own United States.

Brazil is a land in which Jim Crow as we know it is practically an unheard of thing. Negroes and whites not only intermarry, but are actually, within the various class groups, encouraged to do so. Here is a nation whose policy is to do everything it can to assimilate the ethnic groups within its borders, in order that that nation may be undivided by racial hatreds and struggles. The Negro, back in the days of the Empire, could rise to high position at court, and today he may become a senator and the confidant of presidents. In Bahia, for instance, a very dark-skinned Negro may become president of one of the most exclusive social-intellectual organizations of the town, one to which the most prominent white citizens are proud to belong. Or he may be a Negro physician whom wealthy whites consult, or a Negro lawyer in whose hands they place their business affairs.

Surely it is a very different situation indeed from the one that exists in our own land of Jim Crow and poll tax. So different is it that many Brazilians are confident their own country is destined to go progressively forward, while ours is doomed to be consumed by racial conflict! This is clearly a social question that merits investigation, if ever one did, and the results of that investigation, if it is properly deepened and carried through without any hampering class fears and interests, should prove fruitful in the extreme—of value to our own democracy.

How did such a situation come to arise in Brazil? Does it represent a natural state of things, or is it an anomaly, to be explained by peculiar historic circumstances? There is a point of view which holds that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary. Dr. Pierson does not formally accept this view; but throughout his book he leaves unstressed the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMUNIST

NOMINATING

RALLY

Earl Browder

Main Speaker

The key to the complex political situation in New York State. A clarification of the issues for all progressive voters. Don't miss this important meeting. Other prominent speakers.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 30

3 P.M.

MANHATTAN CENTER

34th St. & 8th Ave.

ADMISSION—25 & 50c

Auspices

NEW YORK STATE ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

naturalness of unprejudiced relations and seeks to find the historic explanations of what, by implication, is an anomalous state of affairs. These explanations are those usually given by students of the subject: the lack of white women in the early Portuguese settlements, the consequent encouragement of miscegenation and its sanction, even, by the Church; the fact that the Portuguese in the mother country had become used to a dark-skinned people as their equals and even their superiors during the prolonged period of the Moorish conquest; etc.

While Dr. Pierson follows the trend of present day sociology in confining himself to a restricted field of observation, he is not so limited in this respect as are many of his colleagues. He does realize that, after all, Bahia is but a small part of Brazil, and that Brazil is a part of the larger world of race relationships. He makes enlightening comparisons and contrasts with the racial situations in British India, Dutch South Africa, the Dutch East Indies, Hawaii, and the United States.

It is, unfortunately, when he comes to a comparison of race relations in the southern states of North America with those in Brazil that our author falls into errors so grave as to render more than a little suspect his interpretations throughout. For example, speaking of the abolition of slavery in Brazil (which occurred in 1888), he says: "The release of the last slaves in bondage did not, as in the United States, occur as an incident of civil strife, nor were the race relations which have normally grown up under slavery ever exacerbated by a program of 'reconstruction' imposed by armed conquest from without."

In other words, it was that "armed conquest" which was represented, not alone by the Civil War but by "reconstruction" (note the author's quotations marks), that was responsible for disturbing those beautiful relations which had "normally grown up under slavery"—as if any relations under slavery, to any but a reactionary or hopelessly academic ("objective") mind, could ever be normal! Again: "No feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy had been stirred up, as in our own South during and following the Civil War, no sense of unwarranted aggressions or attacks."

All this, of course, is directly out of the mouth of Margaret Mitchell; and the author actually quotes an extended passage from *Gone with the Wind* dealing with the Reconstruction period! He even waxes sentimental over Scarlett O'Hara's "Mammy," whom he identifies with the Brazilian *"ama"* or *"mae preta."* In speaking of slavery in Brazil, he remarks on "personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its *formal character*" (my emphasis—S.P.). This once again is the Margaret Mitchell thesis. Does Dr. Pierson mean to tell us that relations between master and slave in our own South were thus humanized, and that it was only the "armed conquest" (note that "conquest") of the Civil War and Reconstruction which led to the perduring reig of terror against Negroes south of the Mason-Dixon Line? What, then, was all the fugitive slave agitation about? What was the meaning of the Underground Railroad and the whole of our great and glorious Abolition movement? Any such thesis is absolutely untenable in the light of unbiased modern scholarship.

It is astonishing that Dr. Pierson can be so scholarly, scientific, and "objective" in his study of the Brazilian Negro and still uncritically accept falsifications of the southern bourbons. Thus, in contrasting Brazil and the United States, he gravely informs us that "lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are . . . unknown." Does he accept the "rape" myth behind the lynchings, along with the "southern mammy" and all the rest?

Yet Dr. Pierson wholeheartedly approves *what is happening in Brazil*, where a Negro-baiter from the States would be horrified, if he did not drop dead. The author emphasizes with pleased approval the fact that there is no caste system, based on color, in Brazil. He regards the process of racial assimilation as unqualifiedly a good and desirable thing. Along with the majority of Brazilian upper and middle classes, he rejoices in the progressive "whitening" of the population, through its absorption into the "European stock."

Just here, however, in the thinking not only of the author, but of many Brazilians, one may point to a dangerous trend. What does this "progressive whitening," this absorption into the "European stock" imply, if not that the white is a superior race? The same is true of the attitudes expressed toward the remnants of the old African culture which are still to be found in Bahia and elsewhere in Brazil. Why assume that this culture, including its religious manifestations, is inferior to that of the white man?

The basic thesis of Dr. Pierson's book is contained in the Brazilian saying which he quotes: "A rich Negro is a white man and a poor white man is a Negro." This, as a summary of the Negro's position in contemporary Brazil. If discrimination is to be found, it is along the lines of social class, not those of race; even though the Negro, belonging as he does for the most part to the "lowest" class, i.e., the proletariat, may be the one who is the victim of such discrimination. To those not familiar with the racial situation in Brazil, this may perhaps sound like a sophism, but as a matter of fact it is not, generally speaking. Racial conflict—although the author is extremely chary about saying it—has been replaced by the *class struggle*. This class struggle on the part of the Negro is now playing an important part in Brazilian economic and social life, although its political expression has been repressed by the Vargas government. Dr. Pierson, however, does his best to minimize it; like most bourgeois sociologists, he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMP UNITY
WINGDALE 2461
INDIAN SUMMER at UNITY in Sept.!

COME in September, when leaves are turning brown, when the countryside is blooming with the fullness of fall. Come to Unity for extra fun...

DIFFERENT fun — activities include every fun for every one!

Water and land sports from boat races to petica ria!

Sociabilities from folk dancing to musical quizzes.

Entertainment features from Jam sessions to Buffoons!

YOUR LAST CHANCE FOR A UNITY VACATION IN '42

Feature programs have been arranged for the holiday weekends of the 12th and 19th. Don't miss these fun days!

MAKE SEPTEMBER RESERVATIONS NOW
Camp Closes Sept. 21st.
RATES: $24-$25 per week, $4.50 per day

CAMP UNITY
WINGDALE, N. Y. Office 1 Union Sq. N.Y.C. · AL - 4 - 8024

HILLTOP Lodge
ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE

R. R. Station: Pawling, N. Y.
Tel.: Hopewell Junction 2761

Only 65 Miles from N. Y. C.

EVERY CONCEIVABLE SPORT & RECREATION
Golf FREE on Premises
Tennis ● Night Tennis ● Handball ● Swimming ● Boating ● Horseback Baseball ● Cycling, etc.
SOCIAL AND ATHLETIC STAFFS
Our Food is Tops!

FOR THE UTMOST IN VACATION VALUE CHOOSE HILLTOP

Under Direction of—
PAUL WOLFSON & SOL ROTHAUSER
N. Y. Office: 170 Broadway
Tel.: COrtlandt 7-3958

HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y.

arrowhead lodge

Announces a progressive dynamic summer program
FONER BROS.—Victory Swing Orchestra. Interpretative and Square Dancing.
DR. PHIL FONER—Lectures, interpretation, "News of the week," discussions.
SAMI LEVINSON—Director, humorist, also Arts and crafts, tennis, golf, swimming, bicycling and archery.
Scheduled as guest artists—
ALMANAC SINGERS — JOSH WHITE — DELL — and others.
Make early reservations — Rates reasonable.
ELLENVILLE, N. Y. Tel. 502

The Woodlands

FOR THE SPIRITED: Tennis — handball — swimming — ping-pong — badminton — archery — mountain trails — croquet — culinary masterpieces — fishing — boating.

FOR THE LAZYBONES: Well-stocked library — Art classes — crafts — dark room —musical recording; — open fireplaces — spectacular country.

SIGGIE GOLDNER, PHOENICIA, NEW YORK

does not like to recognize the class struggle in any form.

Much the same attitude is manifested by the author in connection with the slave revolts, in the days before slavery was abolished. To the great Negro republic of Palmares, a Negro runaway-slave state in the interior of Brazil which lasted more than half a century (1630-97), he devotes but a scornful footnote, in which he speaks of "the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled 'Negro Republic.'" In this he is in radical disagreement with Professor Ramos, who definitely states that it *was* a republic, with a "perfect . . . economic organization" and "a high moral code," while "the spirit of discipline was absolute"; it was, according to Ramos, "really a Negro state."

Inclined to overstress the patriarchal-idyllic character of master-slave relationships, Dr. Pierson decidedly plays down the significance of the *quilombo,* or runaway-slave community. In effect, this is to deemphasize the Negro's hostility to and unceasing revolt against the institution of slavery, in Brazil as in the United States. Similarly while Dr. Pierson gives considerable factual detail, he fails to convey the animating spirit of that magnificent abolitionist movement in nineteenth century Brazil, which resulted in slavery becoming so morally, socially, and politically abhorrent to an entire people that they rose and peacefully threw it off. That spirit was voiced by its greatest spokesman, Joaquim Nabuco, when he declared: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty." Five years after he spoke those words, slavery in his country was no more.

SAMUEL PUTNAM.

Brief Review

ANTHOLOGY OF CANADIAN POETRY (ENGLISH), *compiled by Ralph Gustafson. Penguin Books. 25c.*

There isn't enough authentic poetry written as yet in English-speaking Canada for us to generalize about it except in a negative way. You can hang a show of Canadian landscape paintings and tell at a glance where it comes from. But Canadian poetry, no. It is just a number of poets feeling their way—closer on the whole to English and European traditions than to American, but not very sure of their direction and not very sure of what they want to say. E. J. Pratt—a Newfoundlander to begin with—is the one who knows best on this latter score. His poems of the sea—"The Cachalot," "The Titanic," and others—show an enthusiasm for outer life and for heroic action. Another poet to watch is Abraham Klein. If this anthology serves to introduce these two, among others, to a wider circle of readers, it will have served a good purpose. What one misses in all these verses—though it is not the anthology's fault—is the social and political note. There are several who have touched it—Pratt, L. A. Mackay, Dorothy Livesay—but none who stay with it.

SWING HIGH
To Summer Joy
at Beacon on the Hudson

A beautiful lake, a natural swimmin' pool, all sports, hearty entertainment, and good food.

WEEKLY REVUES, CONCERTS, CARNIVALS, TOURNAMENTS, CAMPFIRES, FOLK DANCING, GAMES, MOVIES

FEATURING Mura Dehn Ballet Star, Richard Newman Musician & Composer, Sally Walter & her Beacon Buddies and Weekly Surprises

MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW!
Only 50 Miles from New York by boat, train, or camp car!

RATES: $21 — $22 week, $4 day

TRANSPORTATION: Hudson Day Line, N. Y. Central & Camp Car Dail from N. Y. Office

CAMP BEACON
Beacon, N.Y.
OFFICE: 2700 BRONX PK. E. - N.Y. - OLIN 5-6900

STAY AND PLAY AT:

MAUD'S SUMMER-RAY

North Branch, Sull. Co., N. Y.
Tel. Callicoon 95

Private Lake, All Sports, Dancing, Dramatics, Marionettes, Musicales, Rumba Bar. Broadway Theatre Artists

GALA LABOR DAY WEEKEND

SENSIBLE RATES
Erie R. R. to Callicoon
Daily—Buses Direct — Mountain Transit Line Greyhound Terminal — 50th St. & 8th Ave. Private cars daily from your house direct to Maud's. Call city office. CO 5-3000 City Information: DIckens 2-5786

Open through the Jewish Holidays, Labor Day, Sept. 7; Rosh Hashanah, Sept. 12, 13; Yom Kippur, Sept. 21.

A New Vacation Idea :: Summer School for Democracy at Fishkill, N. Y.

an 1100 acre estate in the Berkshire foothills.

All the Sports — All the Fun — All the Entertainment PLUS classes
with
Dr. Philip Foner — "Landmarks in the History of American Labor."
Gwendolyn Bennett — "Painting and Sketching with Lectures on Art."
EQUALS
a vacation you'll remember all year.

RESERVATION: $30 Per Week for Accommodations and Tuition

FOR INFORMATION: School for Democracy 13 Astor Place GR. 7-4086

In the Berkshires
CAMP COLEBROOK
Colebrook River, Conn.
formerly an exclusive Country Club

LABOR DAY SPECIAL—3 DAYS—$16.50

- Private lake surrounded by 300 acres of pines and hemlocks.
- Artistic bungalows facing lake.
- Tennis, handball, ping-pong.
- Croquet green, archery.
- Social activities — music — dancing.

ALgonquin 4-0063
SEPTEMBER RATES—$25
25% reduction to present and future uniformed men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SHOSTAKOVICH'S COLLEAGUES

In many operas, cantatas, and symphonies Soviet musicians have welded an impassioned fighting art. Nicolas Slonimsky surveys the elements of their style.

SHOSTAKOVICH'S Seventh Symphony, which has stirred the public as no other symphony has in modern music history, is the culminating point of Soviet musical development as a whole. For the Seventh Symphony is not an isolated phenomenon. It has been conditioned by Shostakovich's personal development as well as by the musical environment of the Soviet Union. We know that even as a symphonic composer, Shostakovich has had his ups and downs. His Fourth Symphony, written at a time when he was not sure of the road to take, has remained unperformed. Shostakovich now repudiates the Fourth Symphony as unrepresentative. In the Fifth Symphony he regained his faith in himself and in his public.

The stamp of Shostakovich's personal talent lies on every page of music he writes. But we can understand him better if we examine the works of other Soviet composers who have all contributed to the formation of the Soviet style. This Soviet style is undoubtedly Russian, stemming from the great nineteenth century Russian school. But it is also modern, for it includes harmonies and orchestral effects that could not have been used by any of the great Russians of the past. Soviet music is expressive of the new society. It is functional, created by professional craftsmen.

It is an axiom that Soviet music is optimistic, but this does not mean that march time and major keys are the only resources of the Soviet composer. Far from it. The new Soviet lyricism is marked by profound meditative power. Shostakovich himself excels in these slow expositions of musical thought that prepare for action.

Soviet music is stimulated by Soviet life, but it is not photographic. It does not reflect Soviet life by imitating literally the sounds of the industrial machines or the explosions of the war. There was a time during the first phase of Soviet music when composers sought to portray the industrialization of cities by including in the orchestra a sheet of steel, as Mosoloff did in his "Iron Foundry." Shostakovich himself used a factory whistle in the score of his Second Symphony.

In operas and cantatas Soviet musicians often turn to Russian history. Prokofieff's opera "Simeon Kotko" treats the subject of the Ukrainian Civil War in 1918. The opera was produced in Moscow on June 21, 1940. During the years of the great conflict, 1941-42, Prokofieff completed a new opera, "War and Peace," written after Tolstoy's great panorama of another war.

The revolution in the countryside and the collectivization of the farms are depicted in the operas by the young Dzerzhinsky: "Quiet Flows the Don" (produced in Leningrad on Oct. 22, 1935) and "Soil Uprooted" (produced in Moscow on Oct. 23, 1937). The scenarios of these two operas were written after the novels of Sholokhov. Oles Tchishko has written an opera on the subject of revolutionary uprising in 1905, "The Battleship Potemkin," which was produced in Leningrad on June 21, 1937. The young musician Tikhon Khrennikov wrote an opera "During the Storm," produced in Moscow on Oct. 8, 1939. In this opera Khrennikov depicts the revolutionary events, and Lenin appears on the stage in the second act. From the technical viewpoint it is interesting to observe that in several Soviet operas, the enemies of the people are invariably represented by the wholetone scale, which seems to convey, by its neutral and ambiguous intervals, something sinister and inimical to life.

At the Moscow Festival of Soviet music in November 1939 three cantatas were performed: "Alexander Nevsky," by Prokofieff, "On the Field of Kulikov," by Shaporin, and "Emelian Pugatchov," by Marian Koval. The Moscow monthly publication *Soviet Music* published a cartoon showing Prokofieff, Koval, and Shaporin as the three giants of Russian defense, after the well known painting by Vasnetsov. The choice of cantatas is significant. Seven centuries ago, on April 5, 1242, the Teutonic knights were defeated on the frozen Lake Peipus by Alexander Nevsky. It has been nearly six and a half centuries since the Asiatic invaders were repulsed on the Kulikov field in 1380. Pugatchov was the prototype of an instinctive revolutionary and a guerrilla leader. By the force of a historical parallel, these Soviet cantatas served notice on the modern invaders that they can be dealt with as decisively as their precursors.

At the same festival the Soviet composer Lev Knipper presented his Symphony Number Seven. The symphony was described by the composer as symbolizing "the readiness of the Soviet people to answer blow by blow the agitation of the warmongers."

Многоуважаемому Николаю Леонидовичу Слонимскому на память о нашем знакомстве в Ленинграде
Д. Шостакович
13 XI 1935
Ленинград.

Dmitri Shostakovich sent this photograph to the author of this article with the inscription shown above, which reads: "To the much-esteemed Nicolai Leonidovitch Slonimsky in remembrance of our meeting in Leningrad." D. Shostakovich, Sept. 13, 1935.

TO FIGHT fascism is a natural function of the Soviet musician. On Aug. 1, 1937, the "Anti-Fascist Symphony," by Boris Mokroussov, was presented in Moscow. Even Soviet children understood the significance of the approaching combat. In a collection of pieces by talented music students, published by Prof. Goldenweiser in 1938, there is a march, *"No Pasaran,"* written by the then thirteen-year-old Dima Tasin and dedicated to the "heroic combatants of republican Spain."

When the war came, the Soviet composers were ready. The old composer Reinhold Gliere published a moving appeal to American musicians in which he said: "In this portentous hour, when savage fascist bands have attacked my native land, I should like to greet all my colleagues beyond the ocean who are supporting the Soviet people. We are employing the medium of our art to help the Red Army wage its struggle against the brutal enemy. Together with the whole country, we have put ourselves on a war footing.

"I have written a marching song, 'Hitler's End Will Come.' The composers Muradelli, Khatchaturian, Miaskovsky, and Shaporin have written similar songs. When we write these songs we are forging weapons for the front, weapons that will make it easier for the Red Army to fight and win. Until now we have been helping the Red Army with our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

art. But, at the call of our government, we are ready at any moment to take a gun, and fight alongside the Red Army."

Other composers, younger in years, helped as fire-fighters and in the ranks of the army. But wherever they were, they wrote music full of fighting spirit. In Moscow there is an organization called the Tass Windows, which includes musicians, painters, and actors. The task of the organization is to give form to the emotions animating the people's war. Shostakovich has contributed several songs to the Tass Windows. One of his war songs, "The Song of the United Nations," written to texts in several languages, has been widely sung in Russia and in the Allied countries.

Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony came as the integration of all these deeply felt emotions. What is there in this music that made people of many races and of different temperaments stand up and cheer; in Kuibyshev, where the symphony was first presented to the world on March 1, 1942; in Moscow, where it was performed on March 26; in Novosibirsk, where the evacuated Leningrad Philharmonic played it on July 9; in London, where it was performed on June 29; in New York, where Toscanini conducted it on July 19; in Tanglewood, where Koussevitzky played it with a student orchestra on August 14, in the presence of the Soviet Ambassador Litvinov?

The symphony opens with a sweeping melody which, according to Shostakovich himself, is the theme of the Leningrad citizen who has become a hero. This theme is contrasted with another, a mechanically rhythmic march tune, which, starting on the threshold of the audible, grows in its mechanical and automatic progress to embrace huge orchestral sonorities. This theme is the theme of Hitler's war. It is eventually crushed by the sweep of the Soviet citizen theme, and its disappearance is marked by the same suddenness as its intrusion upon the scene. The suggestive power of this treatment of the two themes is great, and yet both themes take their places easily in the classical form of a sonata.

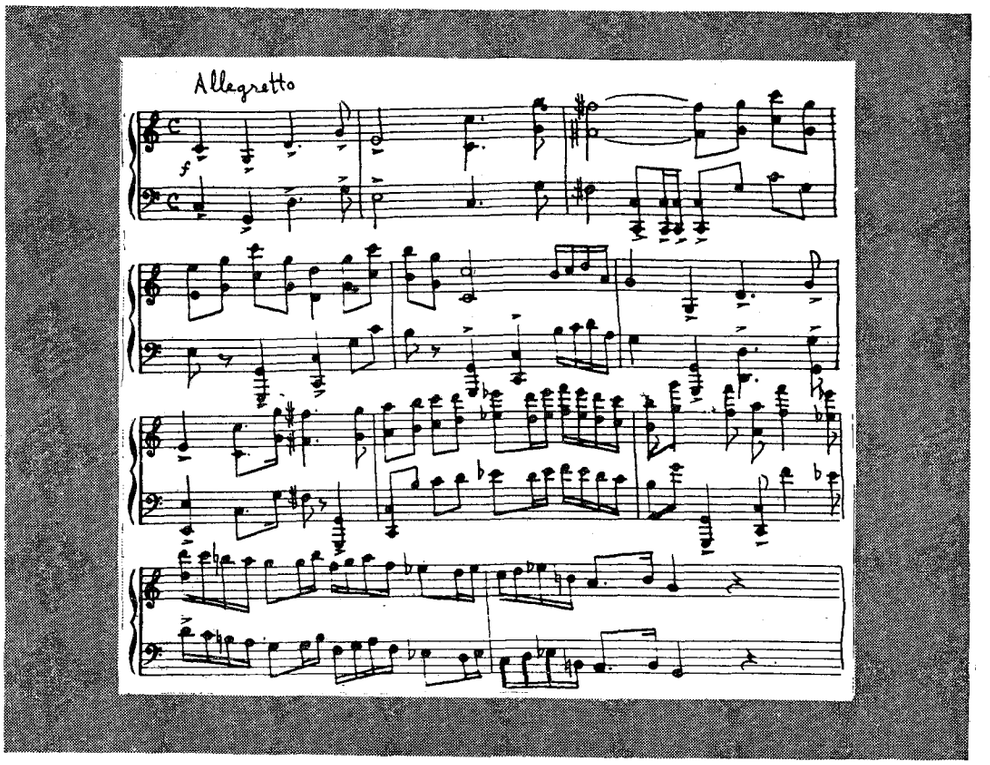
The second and third movements are visions of the immediate past, when life and happiness were inalienable attributes of a free people. The last movement starts darkly, out of the immeasurable spaces of Shostakovich's homeland. Imperceptibly the element of space is organized and is transmuted into power. This power grows irresistibly, until the climax, which is the victory.

Alexei Tolstoy describes the spirit of the Seventh Symphony in these impassioned words: "The Seventh Symphony has its origin in the spirit of the Russian people, who went forth unhesitatingly to battle with the dark forces of evil. Written during the bombing of Leningrad, it expanded to the dimensions of a titanic work of art comprehensible to people in all lands, because it tells the truth about man in this terrible year of disaster and trial. Transparent in its vast complexity, the Seventh Symphony has an austere and masculine lyrical quality. It presses on toward a

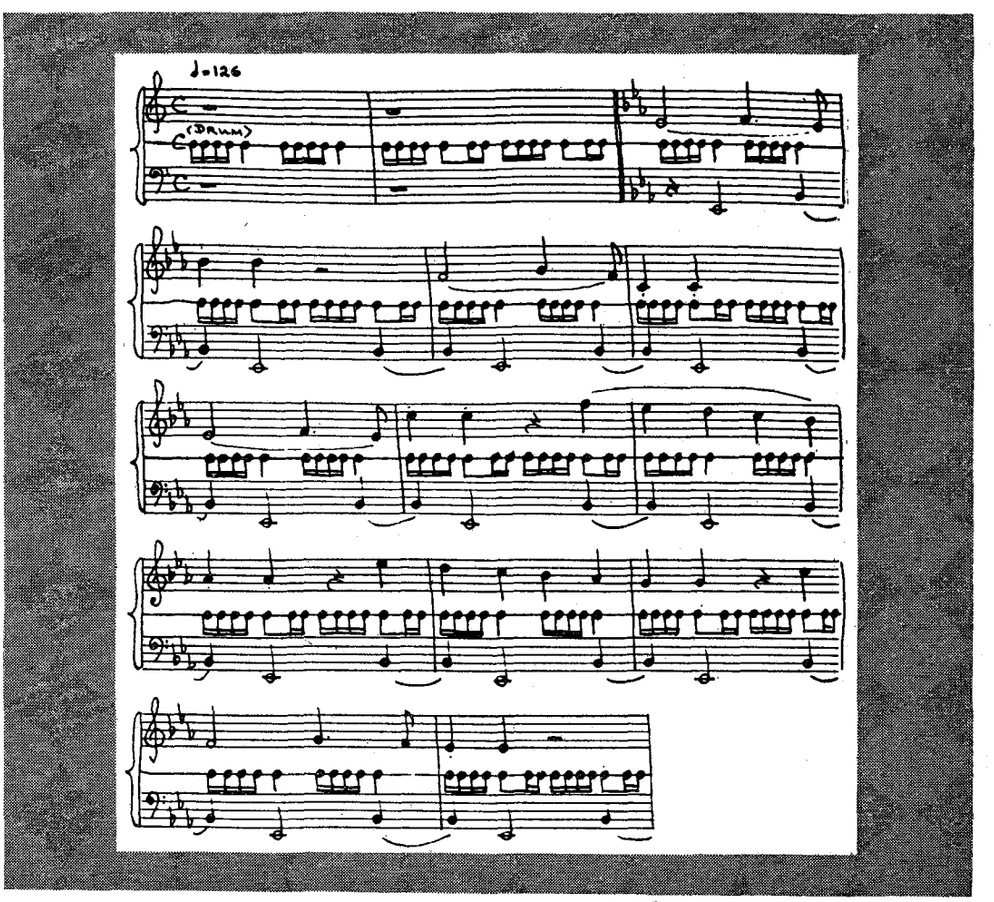
SHOSTAKOVICH'S SEVENTH

Themes from the First Movement

The Soviet Theme



The Nazi War Theme



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SWIMMING · TENNIS · BADMINTON · HANDBALL · BOATING · ARCHERY · SPARKLING REVUES · SIDNEY BECHET'S BAND · SINGING · RECORDING · BASEBALL · RIDING · FISHING

Merry Mountains of Pleasure . . .

Cool, refreshing swims after fast, furious games . . . then hearty food and relaxing concerts . . . And your Allaben holiday icing, merry entertainment and Bechet's inspired dance music...

LABOR DAY WEEKEND
3 gloriously full days $18.50
FAREWELL FUN-WEEK
with our full staff . . . sports, shows, music . . . Sept. 7 to 13.
Come by boat, train or bus!
N. Y. Off. - 33 W. 42 ST., PE 6-3063

the informal adult camp...

ALLABEN ACRES
ALLABEN N.Y.
TEL. PHOENICIA 75

SWIMMING · TENNIS · BICYCLING · HORSEBACK · SOCIAL STAFF

31 WAYS TO HAVE FUN

For a vacation of action or relaxation Chester's offers an unbeatable value. Big parade of all-star attractions, including fast clay courts, private lake and large, filtered swimming pool, badminton courts, handball, bicycling, 25 other outdoor and indoor sports. Gala evenings, featuring a brilliant theatre group. Table treats in three magnificent performances a day. Unusually reasonable rates.

Write, wire or phone your reservations
N. Y. OFFICE: TEL. LO-5-5857

WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

CHESTERS
RUNBARD

A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

Camp Lakeland

Hopewell Junction, N. Y.

On the Beautiful Sylvan Lake

("Sports Lovers' Paradise"—Lester Rodney)

Excellent Accommodations
Top-Notch Entertainment

CITY OFFICE:
1 Union Square Phone: GR. 7-8659

Camp cars leave daily from
2700 Bronx Park East — OL 5-6900

TAXI and BUS SERVICE
MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE

RIDGEFIELD, CONN. PHONE: 820
Welcome Glorious Summer at a luxurious country estate converted into a vacation paradise. Magnificent lake—all water sports, golf, tennis, riding. Dancing, recordings, fine library. 50 miles from New York.
OPEN ALL YEAR.

SACKS FARM Saugerties, N. Y. Tel. 590-J

Unusually beautiful countryside; pine woods, restful; all conveniences, finest Am.-Jewish cooking. Sports, horseback riding.

LOW RATES - - BOOKLET

Most enchantingly beautiful spot in the Catskills
Far off the beaten path. Elevation 2500 ft.

HILLCREST On Beaverkill Lake

Livingston Manor R. R. Station UNION GROVE, N. Y.
Phone Livingston Manor 218J11
Telegraph—Hillcrest, Livingston Manor, N. Y.
Delightful mile-long lake at your door
All outdoor sports — free on the premises
No social staff. Fine American Jewish meals
LABOR DAY WEEKEND — $12 for three days
September rates — $20

future that opens beyond the borderline where the victory of man over beast is won."

Much will be written about Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony as one performance follows another. But, whatever the divergent opinions of music critics may be, the Seventh will remain in history as the most extraordinary expression, in musical terms, of the great power of a great people.

NICOLAS SLONIMSKY.

Mixed Feelings

Orson Welles' new film has many virtues —and faults.

"THE MAGNIFICENT AMBERSONS" is Orson Welles' second film venture, and it is both exciting and disappointing. The excitement stems from Welles' original use of the camera, the sound-track—in fact, the entire film technique. The disappointment rises from his incomplete success with the story and the medium.

It would be difficult to guess the main theme of the novel from the movie. As it emerges in the film, however, that theme is the somewhat pathological hostility that exists between young George Amberson Minafer and the man (Eugene Morgan), his widowed mother, Isabel, wants to marry. With a "devotion" to his mother that suggests the famous Oedipus complex, young George starts as a spoiled child of wealth and develops into a vicious, self-centered, boorish adult.

Now Welles has failed to make this relationship plain to the audience; it becomes exasperating rather than illuminating of social relationships in the mid-nineteenth century he is exploring. Certain reasons can be deduced—to be "an Amberson" means something to George; any Morgan, to him, is unworthy of his mother's hand. Rather than permit the consummation of his mother's youthful love—for Morgan had been a seriously considered suitor before her marriage to Minafer—young George wrecks her life, literally driving her to the grave. He wrecks the life of Eugene Morgan, of his Aunt Fanny, Isabel's sister (who also loves Morgan), and he nearly wrecks his own life and that of Eugene Morgan's daughter, Lucy, whom he loves.

You can see that the story pattern is complicated and inter-related. Behind it all, however, rises a more important theme, a more basic pattern. That is the conflict between the Ambersons, who were landed gentry in the Middle West in the seventies, and the new industrial civilization that is represented by Eugene Morgan, inventor of automobile patents and later a manufacturer of the new "horseless carriages."

Welles has revealed with uncommon skill the atmosphere in which this conflict develops. Here is the second half of the nineteenth century as it must have been lived by the upper middle class of the period. Here is the great manse—the showpiece of the town. Here are the balls and parties, the "motoring" expe-

FALL IN FOR ALL OUT LABOR DAY RECREATION

We've extra-special plans for you whether you come for action or to relax midst our renowned flower gardens. All sports, dancing, swimming, entertainment, delicious meals, convivial companions. *Only 55 miles from New York.* NON-SECTARIAN.

PLUM POINT
ATTRACTIVE RATES FREE BOOKLET
New Windsor, N.Y. Newburgh 4270

ONE HOUR FROM NEW YORK

Birdland CENTRAL VALLEY N. Y.

Formerly Lewisohn's Estate OPEN ALL YEAR
225-acre estate. Tennis, Golf, Swimming, Bicycles, Handball, Ping-pong, Games, recordings, library, dancing. Exceptional company. Excellent cuisine. Every comfort. Incomparable surroundings. Tel.: Highland Mills 7895.
Your Hostess: Fannie Goldberg

NEW . . . DELIGHTFUL DIFFERENT **OAKWOOD** NEW WINDSOR NEW YORK

Tel.: Newburgh 4477 Only 53 Miles from N. Y. C.

Charming Colonial Estate, Spacious grounds. Unexcelled food. Tennis, Golf, Swimming, Handball, Riding, Canoeing, Badminton. Limited Accommodations — Attractive Rates.

ARCADIA

FISHKILL, N. Y. Phone: Beacon 727
Spend a glorious vacation in 1100 acres of woods, trails and scenic wonders. Wood-burning fireplaces. Unexcelled cuisine. Indoor and outdoor sports.

SPECIAL HOLIDAY WEEKEND

Cultural & athletic program, water carnival, Sept. 11-13—$11.50. Send $5 to make sure of your reservation
Special Rates for Groups
Make Reservations Now R. R. Station: Beacon, N. Y.

TANGLEWOOD

WOODSTOCK, NEW YORK

For a vacation or weekend that's somewhat different —amidst unspoiled country—wholesome and delicious food—swimming in a dammed up brook—good time—come to *Tanglewood.*

MARTHA BERLIN Tel. Woodstock 14 F 13

LOCUST GROVE FARM

SYLVAN LAKE, HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.
A "smallish" informal place overlooking miles of scenic hills in lower Dutchess County.
All sports—Barn Dances—Nearby lake—Open all year—Just 55 miles from New York.
LIMITED ACCOMMODATIONS — LOW RATES
GEORGE A. PODORSON, Locust Grove Farm
City Phone: SH 3-4716—Hopewell Junction, Phone 42 F 31

Camp Followers of the Trail

offers its facilities for a pleasant vacation
Tennis — Handball — Ping-Pong — Swimming — Dancing — Entertainment — Delicious Food
$19.00 per Week
Fare by N. Y. Central train, 87c. Day Line boat to Indian Point, $1.45 round trip
Buchanan, N. Y. — phone Peekskill 2879

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes. Interesting hiking objectives through woodland trails. Fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, etc. Intelligent, gay companionship. $28 & $32 weekly. Non-Sectarian. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir.

SHADYBROOK

MAHOPAC, N. Y. Tel. Mahopac 963
50 miles from N. Y.; 140 acres rustic country, secluded, healthful. Excellent American cuisine. Wood burning fire place, sports. Families accommodated.
AUGUST RATES—$27.50 PER WEEK.
Write for booklet M MRS. G. POPPER

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ditions, the sleigh rides and the customs and costumes of the time. The advent of the automobile is shrewdly revealed; the role that it will play in the new industrial civilization is neatly explained. You can see, almost before your eyes, the widening of streets, the development of roads, as the new vehicle pushes up the speed and convenience of travel.

I feel, however, that Welles has failed miserably to relate this major theme—the cracking up of the old agrarian supremacy, the rise of the new industrialization—to the people who stand in the foreground of his picture. You are confused by the complicated relationships that exist in the film, which are explained in psychological terms, rather than in terms of social forces. You are never told why the Ambersons were so wealthy; nor why their fortune is dissipated, nor how. You are left to guess that it had something to do with the rising civilization represented by Eugene Morgan—but how that new superstructure arose, how it operated, and why it effectively left the Ambersons behind—these things you never learn through a medium that might have been explicit and illuminating.

The film technique Welles carried over to the screen from his Mercury Theater productions is here again—only amplified. There is no little doubt that Welles could be the master cinematic artist of our time. He possesses a vivid imagination—but strangely enough that imagination plays only over the surface of things, rather than diving into their depths. He has been tricked on more than one occasion by his own ingenuity and stylistic brilliance.

Now there is a direct relationship between the fact of these superficial tricks and Welles' failure to penetrate his material and make it meaningful. You feel a sense of coldness throughout the *Ambersons,* just as you felt it in *Citizen Kane.* You suspect that Welles really doesn't give a hoot in hell about human beings, but regards them as specimens for his camera eye—fascinating to watch, although there is no obligation to feel anything about them.

At times, and in certain sequences, you can even sense that the director is exploiting his actors (read, human beings) and making them perform for his camera. I'm thinking particularly of the long and stunning hysterical scene played by the Aunt Fanny of the film, Agnes Moorehead. For fully five minutes or more Miss Moorehead, who is a real artist, is made to wring every last drop of her very genuine emotion from the role, while the cold eye of the camera watches her and misses nothing. This is almost indecent to behold, and it has a definite relationship to Welles' feelings in the two films we have seen.

For unless there is compassion in an artist —however well endowed—there is nothing but pyrotechnics to enjoy. The emotion is isolated from the context of the material and held up as a thing unto itself, which it most certainly is not in life. And these real failures

once again . . .

NEW MASSES

invites you

TO A DELIGHTFUL

THREE DAY HOLIDAY WEEKEND

Make Your Reservations Now
(Choicest accommodations go to first reservations)

New Masses weekends are famous for their fine spirit, congenial companionship, and unexcelled programs. A few of the features that make these weekends the byword of the summer include:

A hilarious revue (Saturday night)

A recital (piano or violin) by a leading concert artist (Sunday afternoon)

A campfire with skits, songs and stories (Sunday night)

A sports program from A to T (archery to tennis)

and

Leading authorities who will speak on political, literary and historical subjects

CHESTERS' ZUNBARG

Woodbourne, N. Y.

SEPTEMBER 18—SEPTEMBER 21

THREE FULL DAYS
for only.....$16.50

Optional—September 18—September 20 (Two Full Days) $11.50

Special transportation rates for this weekend

Fill in coupon below and mail to New Masses, 461 4th Ave. or call CAledonia 5-3076

☐ I wish to make reservations for ..... people at $16.50 per person for the three-day weekend of Sept. 18-21.

☐ I wish to make reservations for ..... people at $11.50 per person for the two-day weekend of Sept. 18-20.

Remittance enclosed ..... Deposit enclosed .....

I will need transportation.....

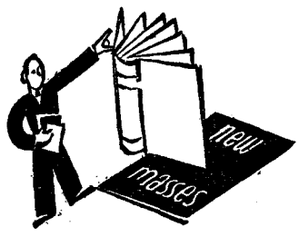
check ☐ male
√ ☐ female
☐ couple

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

Telephone . . . . . .

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



one Year of

NEW MASSES

(Reg. annual sub. rate—$5.00)

plus

SOVIET ASIA
by
R. A. DAVIES & ANDREW J. STEIGER
List Price $3
Combination Offer $6.75

or

	Our Gift Combination Price	You Save
VILLAGE IN AUGUST by Tien Chun list price $2.50	6.50	1.00
RUSSIA'S FIGHTING FORCES By Sergei N. Kournakoff	5.00	.50
ONLY THE STARS ARE NEUTRAL by Quentin Reynolds list price $2.50	6.50	1.00
TIME AND THE TOWN by Mary Heaton Vorse list price $3.00	6.75	1.25
RUSSIANS DON'T SURRENDER by Alexander Poliakov list price $2.50	6.50	1.00
THE GIFT OF TONGUES by Margaret Schlauch list price $3.50	7.25	1.25
MISSION TO MOSCOW by Joseph E. Davies list price $3.00	6.75	1.25
TELEGRAM FROM HEAVEN by Arnold Manoff list price $2.50	6.50	1.00
THE COPPERHEADS by William Blake list price $3.00	6.00	2.00
HOW MAN BECAME A GIANT by M. Ilin list price $2.00	6.25	.75

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen:
I wish to take advantage of your combination offer.
Enclosed find $ . . . . . .
The book I desire is . . . . . .
Please send it to:
Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .
State . . . . . .
The one-year subscription (or renewal) to NEW MASSES you may send to:
Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .
State . . . . . .
Add $1 for Canadian postage
9-1-42

of the director-producer are not compensated for by the occasional flash of valid intuition he displays, flashes that are quite evocative of the way people actually live. Unless an artist can steadily achieve such evocation, no totality of ingenious lighting effects or camera angles can succeed in highlighting human character or bringing out the dramatic content of the material.

In *The Magnificent Ambersons* these successful devices are far less frequent than the unsuccessful tricks that serve only to confuse the audience. There will be weird angle shots that illustrate nothing more than the ability of the director-producer-writer to find new and really outrageous places for the camera. There will be scenes—long ones—played in almost total obscurity, darkness; you strain your eyes and see nothing. These dark scenes, and the use of shadows throughout the film, serve a symbolic purpose—but the symbolism is rather commonplace and outworn by now.

Even more basic to the failure of *The Magnificent Ambersons* is the absence of a clean narrative line; few pictures I have seen provoke more readily the phrase, "So what?" For the *Ambersons* leave you instructed solely in the nature of the *facade* of their society; not at all in the inner conflicts of the period or the development of those forces that made families like this what they were—money-mad, land-proud, proud of family, extraordinarily arrogant and smug, puritanical and rakish, conventional and "wild."

For this film Mr. Welles serves as off-screen commentator, and his fine, resonant voice is used to excellent effect wherever he has felt it necessary to explain the action or comment on the scene. His cast is well chosen and excellently directed. It is one of Mr. Welles' virtues that he makes use of relatively unknown players, and demonstrates the real talent latent in people who are not stars. For the role of Isabel Amberson he has resurrected Miss Dolores Costello, who is an exceptionally handsome woman and a competent actress. The daughter is Anne Baxter, a new player who is smashing the tradition of the ingenue lead. Miss Baxter is both pretty and accomplished; she is sweet without being sticky, she is young but carries great authority as a person.

Tim Holt plays the vicious young George Amberson Minafer with a fine understanding of the role, and there are excellent characterizations by Ray Collins and Richard Bennett. But all acting honors of the film belong to Agnes Moorehead, who plays the homely maiden-aunt Fanny. Miss Moorehead is an artist of power, dignity, and deep emotional force. Her Aunt Fanny is deeply felt and almost violently projected — a highly moving piece of work. ALVAH BESSIE.

NEW MASSES Classified Ads

50c a line. Payable in Advance. Min. charge $1.50
Approx. 7 words to a line Deadline Fri. 4 p.m.

AGENTS WANTED

SUBSTANTIAL COMMISSIONS FOR NM SUBS will be paid throughout the campaign for 5,000 new readers. For details communicate with Martha Strumpf, Circulation Mgr., New Masses, 461 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

APARTMENT WANTED—TO SHARE

Young woman desires to share woman's 2-3 room apartment. Must be furnished, privacy, mid-Manhattan. Write Box 1800, New Masses, 461 4th Ave., N. Y. C.

FURS

SKILLED FUR CRAFTSMAN with factory in wholesale district offers you exceptionally low rates on remodeling, repairing, cleaning, glazing and custom-made garments. **STORAGE. PLEASE ASK FOR MR. ARMAND.** 145 West 30 St., N. Y. C. Armand et Soeur, Ch. 4-1424.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE and **CARL BRODSKY** — whatever your needs — **FREQUENT SAVINGS**, 799 Broadway. **TRADE UNION AGENCY.** Tel. GRamercy 7-5978.

PIANO TUNING

PIANO TUNING, regulating, repairing and voicing. Member Nat'l Ass'n Piano Tuners, Inc. Ralph J. Appleton, 505 Fifth Avenue. Tel. MUrray Hill 2-3757.

VACATION RESORTS

EAST HILL FARM, Youngsville, N. Y. Breezy vacation spot on the mountain top. Modern. Colorful rooms, rustic dining room. Swim, tennis. And food! Mmmmm! $20 wk., $3.50 day. Tel. Jeffersonville 78F21. **BOOKLET.** Managers: Those Young City Slickers.

AVANTA FARMS, Ulster Park, N. Y. Tel. 591 M 1. Workers resting place. Wholesome food. Bathing. $16 per week, $700 per year. West Shore Train.

WANTED—TO BUY

LINGUAPHONE. ANY LANGUAGE. WRITE DESCRIPTION. ROOM 804, 18 EAST 41st STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

WEARING APPAREL

IMPORTANT! REMOVAL NOTICE. After Labor Day (Sept. 7th), **MISS GOODMAN** will reopen with her new and lovely Fall Showing of Model Dresses, Coats and Suits at 244 **LEXINGTON AVE.**, near 34th St. MU 5-0670.

Subscribe to
NEW MASSES

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Ave., N. Y. CITY
Enclosed find $..... for which please send NM for one full year, 52 weeks.
(There are 2 methods of payment; we prefer the first; you may prefer the second.)
☐ One Year $5.00
☐ One Year $1.00 down payment
Bill $1 monthly for 4 months
Add $1 for Canadian postage
NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....STATE.....
9-1-42

SUB SENT IN BY
NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....STATE.....
9-1-42

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That Man Again

Saroyan flies all over and lands exactly nowhere.

THE Broadway season opened last week with "The Saroyan Theater's" production of *Across the Board on Tomorrow Morning* and *Talking to You,* and the creaking and groaning of Mr. William Saroyan's latest vehicles were ear-splitting. For the erstwhile young man on the flying trapeze has come to rest in a rocking chair. Dizzy from his gyrations, he rocks and mumbles in his beard and it's harder than ever to hear what he's saying. And what you do hear is without form or content—it's just Saroyan talking.

In *Across the Board* there's the ubiquitous bar scene, the sticky stock characters, the same old garrulity, unenlivened by language or ideas. His billboard blondes, wired for sound, have less to say than usual, and the excitement chart keeps about the level of the chair-rungs throughout. Were it not for Canada Lee, as one "Thomas Piper, a waiter," the piece would be intolerably dull. There are two Filipino kitchen boys, who as presented are a mean burlesque on the heroic people of the island; a mother disappointingly gives birth offstage, after a big build-up entrance; for the rest, the old hickory-cured flavor floats across the footlights and that's all.

That's all, except for Canada Lee. As the waiter who fraternizes with the audience before the curtain he performs a feat little short of miraculous, infusing with vitality and wit the listless imbecility of Mr. Saroyan's lines. If Mr. Saroyan meant to give us a play, he called the wrong number. But he did get the right actor.

If *Across the Board* is innocuous, *Talking to You* is written with a poison pen. Here Saroyan really gives us the low-down on himself. He talks about humanity but does not understand it; he talks about pity that has no basis in reality; he discusses life in terms that are vapid and false. His professional love for his brother-man—particularly his black brother—is spread thick. But it amounts to nothing more in cold fact than a kind of elated, superstitious awe mingled with a revolting condescension.

His treatment of the central character in *Talking to You,* a Negro prizefighter called "Blackstone Boulevard," again played by Canada Lee, is a betrayal of the common dignity of man. But here again, the actor steps in and takes the play away from his author. Making us feel pity where only bathos is indicated, forcing us to experience his own fear instead of our boredom and irritation, "Blackstone Boulevard" gives us his faith in humanity, in brotherly love, and stirs us to feel his necessity to die for it. This is no mean achievement in the face of the play's false premise.

In addition to Mr. Lee, there is a remarkable Flamenco guitarist—Jeronimo V. Villarino—who adds considerable spirit to the scene. DOROTHY SAINTSBURY.

We CAN Win India as an Ally NOW!

HEAR

PAUL ROBESON MICHAEL QUILL
C. H. TOBIAS MAX YERGAN
KUMAR GOSHAL

Other Speakers to Be Announced

MASS RALLY

"TOWARDS A FREE INDIA THROUGH AN INDIAN GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN A FIGHTING ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS"

MANHATTAN CENTER
34th Street, West of Eighth Avenue

Wednesday, SEPTEMBER 2nd, 1942, 8:30 P. M.

ADMISSION (tax incl.):—83c, 55c and 28c

Auspices:—COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, 1123 B'way, WA 9-7967

Tickets available at Council, Bookfair, 133 West 44th St., Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th St., N. Y. C.

THIRD BIG WEEK

The Most Important Motion Picture in Your Life!

Artkino Presents

"MOSCOW STRIKES BACK"

Russian Heroism vs. Nazi Barbarism!

Thrilling Narration by EDWARD G. ROBINSON

Made by 15 Cameramen defying Nazi Bullets! Real Guns! Real Soldiers! Real War!

✓✓ PM—
"This movie makes you want to rush out of your seat, grab a gun and join the fighters on the screen to rub out once and forever the degeneracy, brutality and insensate excesses of Nazism." John T. McManus
It will rank among the greatest of its type.—N. Y. Times

GLOBE THEATRE

B'way near 46th St., N. Y. C.
(air-conditioned)

NOW PLAYING

The Most Outstanding Soviet Dramatic Film

"THE BATTLE FOR SIBERIA"

(Defense of Volochayevsk)

directed by the Vasilliev Brothers
who were responsible for "Chapayev"

Episodes of the embattled partisan bands of Siberia, based on authentic personal experiences.

Musical score by
DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH

STANLEY THEATRE

7th Ave., bet. 41st & 42nd Sts.—25c to 1 p.m. except Sat., Sun. & Holidays—Late shows Sat. Night air-cooled.

SOVIET CINEMA TRIUMPH!
"PETER THE FIRST"
from the novel of Alexei Tolstoy
by V. N. Petrov
and on the same program
"RASPUTIN"

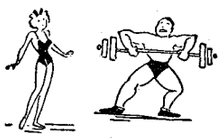
• • •

IRVING PLACE THEATRE
Irving Place at 14th St.
Benefit Block Tickets at Reduced Prices GR 5-9879

RUSSIAN SKAZKA

★ Superlative Russian and American Cuisine
★ Soviet-American Recordings

DINNER, 75c
Late Snacks 25c Beer & Wine
IRT to Christopher St.
Ind. Subway to W. 4th St.



MEN — WOMEN
(separate days)
(Reduce or Gain)

SUMMER RATES NOW
(reductions up to 20%)

INDIVIDUAL EXERCISE — SWEDISH MASSAGE — POSTURE CORRECTION — VAPOR BATHS — BICYCLES — WALKING MACHINES — HANDBALL — PADDLE TENNIS — BODY BUILDING — ROOF GYM — ETC.

SUN DECK.

Modest Fees

GOODWIN'S GYMNASIUM
1457 Broadway at 42nd St.
WIsconsin 7-8250

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

BUY
UNITED STATES
WAR BONDS
and
SAVINGS STAMPS

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POSITIVELY NO 3RD PRINTING!

Here are comments from readers who own it:

It's a volume of knowledge. You can't guess how much we have learned from going through it.

The Quiz Book is wonderful. I use it every Sunday afternoon when my children and grandchildren come over to visit me.

CARNEGIE LIBRARY
AUG 2 1949
OF PITTSBURGH

We have used "What Do You Know?" at three parties we have given and it certainly made each one a real success.

Your 760 questions are tough, but it's a first rate job, even if I have to refer to the answers in the back of the book at times.

We have now used it at four lodge educationals and it has in a new way brought interest and excitement to our meetings.

BUY NM'S QUIZ BOOK NOW - ONLY $1.00, or
SUBSCRIBE TO NM FOR A YEAR AND GET IT, or
SEND IN TWO NEW SUBS AND GET IT FREE

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Please send me a copy of the NEW MASSES QUIZ BOOK, "What Do You Know?"

☐ Enclosed find $1 in payment for the QUIZ BOOK.

☐ Enclosed find $5.50 for which enter my sub to NM for a full year, and send me as a premium the QUIZ BOOK.

☐ Enclosed find 2 new subscriptions for NM (either full $5 subs or $1 down installment subs are acceptable) and send me absolutely free of charge the QUIZ BOOK. (If you have only one sub now, send it in, and when you send in the second one, we will ship you the QUIZ BOOK.)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____

STATE_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED